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12 October 1983

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

No. 2836

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

'ARMENIAN ISSUES INSTITUTE' MEMBERS INTERVIEWED ON TERRORIST OPERATIONS

Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 31 Aug 83 p 4

[Interview with members of the Presidium of the Armenian Issues Institute by BBC correspondent: "BBC Interview With Armenian Issues Institute"]

[Text] The British BBC network conducted an interview with the Armenian Issues Institute, with questions answered by members of the Institute's Presidium. We present below in translation that interview, which was broadcast over BBC radio on 11 August.

[Question] For more than 10 years now Armenian extremist organizations have been engaged in a fight against the Turkish Government, demanding that it acknowledge the genocide of Armenians which took place in 1915. What do they know about this in Soviet Armenia?

[Answer] World silence over the Armenian Question compelled the Armenian people to resort to extremism, and now their voice is being heard. Although the Soviet press reports nothing about this, the voice has also been heard in Armenia. News, and important news in particular, always filters through. Leaders in Armenia are not only aware of what is going on but sometimes make public statements to that effect. Dzhon Kirakosian, minister of foreign affairs, has made mention of the situation on various occasions, and Deputy Chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers Svetlova commented on one occasion that hardly anybody could be found in the Armenian people who would condemn Armenian terrorism. In our opinion, however, both the people of Armenia and Western journalists are not always able to distinguish the Armenian revolutionary movements from one another and judge them all on the basis of a single criterion.

[Question] Can you tell us something about those extremist organizations, especially ASALA?

[Answer] It so happens that ASALA has succeeded in making the most noise, and therefore everybody has the impression that this is the most important Armenian combat organization. This is not so, however. Combat actions against the Turkish Government were initiated in 1975 by the "Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide" organization, which announced its presence in Paris and Vienna by killing Turkish diplomatic representatives. This organization in the

main attacks Turkish diplomats, regarding them as representatives of the Turkish Government. This organization is responsible for almost all attacks perpetrated against Turkish diplomats. ASALA has no connection with these actions. The organization which calls itself the "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," according to its own statements, is an extremist left-wing organization, which is trying to resolve the Armenian Question by overthrowing world imperialism [in boldface], and therefore it sets off bombs indiscriminately. Innocent people are dying from its bombs: in Switzerland, France, Turkey, and elsewhere, people who have nothing whatsoever to do with politics or with the Armenian Question. Their activities have begun causing serious concern to the Armenian people, who can never agree that it is right to take innocent victims. Now a new organization has appeared, by the name of "Armenian Revolutionary Army," which announced its presence by assassinating the Turkish ambassador to Brussels and by the incident in Lisbon, where five Armenian fighters died a martyr's death. In its public statements and tactics this new organization resembles the "Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide" organization, that is, it directs its attacks Turkish diplomats, finding them to be the individuals on whom Turkey's foreign policy depends.

[Question] Where do you obtain your information?

[Answer] From the Armenian press, with the difference that we study only serious newspapers and ignore noisy declarations printed in leaflets which resemble newspapers, speeches and press conferences which resemble masquerades. You also have both serious and frivolous newspapers, and you also probably place greater trust in your serious newspapers.

[Question] Recently a large all-Armenian congress was held in Lausanne. What decisions were reached at that congress, and what can one expect from that congress in coming years?

[Answer] That congress was not all-Armenian and was not as large as its organizers made it appear. The congress was not all-Armenian because not one organization from the Diaspora (we are talking about Armenian organizations) took part in the congress. Judge for yourself. How can 70 or 80 persons not representing anybody consider themselves to be an all-Armenian congress and elect a National Council, when you consider that in the Diaspora there are organizations with more than 10,000 members which did not take part in the congress. What can one expect of that congress in the near future? Nothing, neither self-dissolution nor creation of a new organization, which cannot be successful because it is born not from the demands of the people but from the wishes of a few individuals who seek to boost their political career.

[Question] According to information which has reached us, an unofficial national party exists in Soviet Armenia. Does that party by any chance have connections with the national movement abroad, and especially with the extremist organizations? Can you tell us anything about that party?

[Answer] It is called the "United National Party," which in the strict sense of the word is not really a party but rather a movement. This movement has a spiritual and moral link with national parties abroad, especially with the

Armenian Revolutionary Federation, since it also strives for a united and independent Armenia. There exists no organizational or other connection, however, between that organization and the national organizations abroad, especially the extremist organizations. All the leaders of the United National Party are in prison. Paruyr Hayrikian, leader of that organization, categorically declared the existence of the organization and stated that the organization seeks to hold a plebiscite in Armenia, under UN protection, to determine whether the Armenian people want their republic to remain as a constituent republic of the Soviet Union. Much more time would be required for a discussion of this movement and its fearless members who burned a portrait of Lenin on Lenin Square, and therefore I shall merely repeat that the party has no connection with organizations abroad.

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

'ARMENIA' DELETED FROM TEXTBOOKS--The Ministry of National Education has demanded that the name "Armenia" or "Hayastan" be deleted from a number of historical maps. Minister of National Education Hasan Saglam issued a memorandum demanding that the word "Armenia" and "Hayastan" be deleted from the Historical Map published by the Emek Ich Publishing House, recommended for use in secondary schools, and from pages 10-11 and 15 of an atlas put out by the Kanaat Publishing House. [Text] [Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 5 Sep 83 p 1] 8817

GERMAN MAGAZINE ON ARMENIANS--Following the Armenian attack on the French Consulate in Berlin, the prominent German magazine STERN carried a map on the crimes perpetrated by Armenian terrorists to date. The map clearly shows how many Turkish diplomats have been assassinated, where and when. STERN correspondents also went to Beirut to interview Armenians living in that city. The German correspondents gave an assessment of this Armenian terrorist stronghold, stating that the Armenians living there were filled with a deep desire for vengeance against the Turks. STERN noted that 750,000 Armenians are living in the United States, 50,000 in Canada, 200,000 in Beirut, 125,000 in South America, 300,000 in France, 40,000 in other Western countries, 5 million in the Soviet Union, 60,000 in Southeastern Europe, 60,000 in Turkey, 100,000 in Syria, 250,000 in Iran, 750,000 in other Arab countries, and 25,000 in Australia. The total Armenian world population is 7 million. [Text] [Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 5 Sep 83 p 1] 8817

APPLICATION OF ISLAMIC LAW ENCOURAGED

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 1 Aug 83 p 3

[Interview with the Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the People's Assembly, Justice Ahmad Musa by Sayyid 'Ali: "MAYU Discusses with the Chairman of the Legislative Committee Plans to Codify Islamic Law; Application of Islamic Law Would Provide Protection for All Citizens; It Would Protect Christians before Muslims"]

[Text] MAYU calls for training courses for judges; it is asking that changes in the courses of study in colleges of law be speeded up.

The most important features of the new law are:

--Usury is to be prohibited in business transactions between individuals.

--Partnerships are to be organized as a legitimate alternative to lending with interest.

--Insurance contracts between an insuror and the insured are to be regulated.

When the People's Assembly begins its next session next October, assembly members will have finished reading the draft bill that was submitted to the Legislative Committee regarding codifying Islamic law. [The proposal] consists of five sections: a Civil Procedures Draft Bill, which consists of 1,136 articles; a Prosecution Draft bill, which consists of 181 articles; a Litigation Draft Bill, which consists of 513 articles; a Draft Penal Code, which consists of 630 articles and is divided into a general section, a section on legal penalties and a section on censure; a Maritime Trade Draft Bill, which consists of 443 articles; and a Trade Draft Bill, which consists of 772 articles.

The most important principal features of the new laws are evident in the following:

These laws are compiled from the texts of Islamic laws, or they are derived from legal decisions or from the principles of Islamic law. These laws are not restricted to a certain school of theology but are rather derived from theological opinions that are compatible with the conditions of society. The technical committees that drafted these laws were careful to indicate the legal origin of every stipulation and to show the origin or the principle from which each law was

derived so that authoritative references on Islamic jurisprudence may be used in interpreting and explaining these laws instead of always turning to foreign jurisprudence for such explanations.

Regarding social relations and new financial procedures that were introduced into these draft laws but had not been dealt with previously by scholars of jurisprudence, committees drafting these laws tried hard to come up with provisions that would be compatible with the conditions of society and the spirit of the age and would [also] conform to the spirit and principles of Islamic law. Examples of such provisions have to do with bank business, insurance and ways of investing money. The last observation [to be made here] is evident in the concern demonstrated by committees in their efforts to use familiar legal terminology in formulating the laws and not to deviate from such usage unless it was necessary. The laws conform to Islamic jurisprudence in substance and meaning.

A special committee was formed to complete this tremendous task. It was made up of Dr Sufi Abu Talib, chairman; Justice Ahmad 'Ali Musa; Ibrahim Shukri; Dr Kamil Laylah; Dr Tulbah 'Uwaydah; Justice Mukhtar Nassar; Dr Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub; and Hanna Naruz. The committee also included the late Hafiz Badawi and the late Dr Jamal al-'Atifi. Both of them had worked very hard on drafting the bill. The late Hafiz Badawi chaired the Criminal Code Committee, and the late Dr Jamal al-'Atifi chaired the Civil Procedures Committee.

There were seven [other] committees in addition to that special committee. They are the Criminal Code Committee, the Civil Procedures Committee, the Litigation Committee, the Maritime Trade Committee, the Trade Committee, the Social Laws Committee, and the Financial and Economic Laws Committee. All public figures joined these committees, starting with the shaykh of al-Azhar and including the president of the Bar Association, the deans of colleges of law, the deans of colleges of Islamic law, [specialists in] jurisprudence and Islamic theologians.

In an attempt to find answers to some questions MAYU interviewed Justice Ahmad Musa, chairman of the Legislative Committee of the People's Assembly.

[Question] What are the steps that have been completed by the People's Assembly committee that is codifying Islamic law?

Time and Place

[Answer] It is our duty to apply the provisions of Islamic law at all times and everywhere. Islam is a religion of religious observances and procedures. It regulates relations between individuals and between individuals and a ruler. Islam mapped out the way for setting up an ideal society. Because Islamic law is suitable for all times and all places, [it is stipulated] that a sound society must furnish all the components that were stipulated in the Koran [for a sound society] and it must have the minimum that an individual requires to maintain a living. Evidence for the tolerance and flexibility of Islam may be found in the fact that in the year of drought and devastation [18 A.H.] 'Umar ibn al-Khattab did not enforce the legal punishment for theft because there was widespread famine and some people were forced to steal. 'Umar was compelled to stop enforcing the minimum legal punishment for theft because necessity knows no laws.

The rules of Islam are not coercive; they are rather adhered to by faith. When

every Muslim is in a position to apply the rules of Islamic law to himself and his family, there will be no need for the law. But the fact that we violate these laws means that we as human beings have to enforce the provisions of Islamic law by force.

The committee has turned over the draft bill to legal specialists in universities, in the Supreme Constitutional Court and in the Court of Cassation. It has turned it over to presidents of judicial organizations and to the Bar Association and its chapters to find out what is being thought about these draft bills and to give those who are interested in the matter an opportunity to make their observations known by the end of next August. The committee will compile these opinions, and it will begin considering and hearing all specialists who have opinions on the matter, whether they are scholars of jurisprudence or legal professionals.

Civil Law

[Question] What are the features of the civil law?

[Answer] The most important feature of the civil law is the fact that it prohibits usury in transactions between individuals.

[Question] As a judge who practised his profession in the judicial authority, what [do you think] are the differences between the present law and the provisions of Islamic law?

[Answer] Most of the articles of the civil law that are presently enforced conform to the provisions of Islamic law. Egypt's civil law was drafted by the great judge, the late Dr al-Sanhuri. Most Arab countries relied on his work in drafting their laws, and most of the provisions in those laws are [adapted from] our civil law. Therefore, we find that differences between the present laws and the laws that have been drafted are not [as great] as some people think or fear.

[Question] What about Islamic law being applied to everyone?

[Answer] The application of Islamic law protects all citizens; it gives Christians protection before Muslims. This is because the organization and stability of society depends on protecting all citizens and their businesses. There is nothing to fear from the application of Islamic law. Only those who violate the provisions of Islamic law, which are consistent with all the divine religions, would fear its application. This means that when the hand of one or two thieves is cut off, no one will steal. [The application of Islamic law means that] the legal punishment will not be enforced until all guarantees and evidence are provided. Also, when the legal punishment is enforced, all crimes and major offenses will disappear.

Except for legal punishments, matters that are new to society are discretionary. Thus, suitable laws are to be enacted for society, with each case being considered separately. So that no one would fear Islamic law, Islamic society affords at least the minimum that is required for a decent life to every individual. Thus, anyone who violates the provisions of Islamic law will have to receive the legal punishment for his offense.

Procedures

[Question] What are the most important features of the civil and financial procedures bill?

[Answer] For this draft bill the provisions of Islamic law were derived from all schools of Islamic jurisprudence. An effort was made to arrange these provisions in proper order to preserve the unity of the code and the homogeneity of their rules. In doing this developments and progress in jurisprudence were taken into consideration in the context of the development of Islamic society and the progress of human thought. The new draft bill also took into consideration all the codes that were drafted in Arab and Islamic countries. It is in that context that the salient features of the draft bill are determined as follows: first, a judge is to use the meaning of the law to interpret statutes. If he finds neither provision nor legal practice to make a ruling in a particular case, he is to rule according to the principles of Islamic jurisprudence. The second principle [a judge is to be guided by] is that the positive provisions of Islamic law are considered of the general law. Therefore, any provision or agreement that violates these provisions is considered null and void. The third principle is that if a legal claim deviates from the social objective intended by the draft bill, use of that legal claim is to be considered illegal.

The draft bill prohibited usury and regulated partnerships as a legal alternative to lending with interest. The draft bill took into account what is required in an agreement; it did not sanction agreements that contravene the laws of Islam.

The draft bill derived from Islamic jurisprudence a system of contracts held in abeyance instead of a system of full contract cancellation which is adopted in the present code. The draft bill also derived from Islamic jurisprudence the principle of not hearing a case instead of that of losing one's legal claim because of a statute of limitations which is observed in the present code. The draft bill upgraded the status of many moral and religious duties to that of legal obligations in an effort to narrow the gap between the law and morals.

The draft bill added many provisions to fill the gaps in many provisions of the code. It mentioned, for example, the cases of weakness that can be used in the case of an injured party in a contract agreement. The draft bill universalized the principle of responsibility that stems from things, and it provided provisions for completing a sale in the event of death. The draft bill added some rules regarding grants.

Islamic Jurisprudence

The draft bill depended on the standards of Islamic jurisprudence. For example, there is a stipulation in the draft bill about using one's right arbitrarily. The draft bill states, "Legal permission precludes responsibilities." This statement is rightly guided by Islamic jurisprudence. Anyone who uses his rights lawfully is not liable for any damage that may result from that. In a special article pertaining to legal defense the draft bill states, "Necessity knows no laws, but violations of the law in those cases are to be evaluated accordingly." [Elsewhere], the draft bill states, "When necessary the lesser of two evils is to be chosen. If two evil deeds conflict, allowances are to be made for the greater

damage in committing a deed of lesser damage. A greater damage is not removed by a smaller one, but the fact that one feels compelled to take action does not completely nullify the rights of others."

One of the most significant [provisions] in the draft bill is that which regulates insurance contracts. Insurance is a commendable cooperative effort wherein those who are involved help each other. Thereby insurance is taken out of the realm of forbidden activity and brought into the realm of cooperation that is legally recommended. An insurance agreement entails that there be reciprocity between those who are insured and the insuror, the company which manages and invests the insurance funds. These funds are entrusted to the insuror. To those funds would be added the share of the profits due to those who are insured after deducting the payments payable by the insuror to the insured or to beneficiaries of insurance policies in case of accidents. In this manner the draft bill demonstrated the cooperative aspect of insurance agreements; this is the aspect that must have primary consideration in making a judgment on that contract.

Muslims and Copts

It may be deduced from the foregoing that the draft bill comes in the form of legislation that adopts the provisions of Islamic law and is inspired by its aims. It is free of arbitrariness, usury and peril. It takes a stand on what is required for fulfilling [the terms of] a contract, and it raises the moral standard of a person's dealings with others. These are principles approved by all Muslims and Christians in our society.

This work that has been completed in compliance with Article Two of the Constitution took into account equally the application of the provisions of Islamic law and the application of the principles of the constitution. Islam guaranteed freedom of religion to non-Muslims, that is, Christians and Jews. This is pursuant to the principle of "There shall be no compulsion in religion" [al-Baqarah: 256]. Islam also guarantees equality of rights and responsibilities for Muslims and non-Muslims, pursuant to the principle of "They have the same rights and responsibilities we have." The Egyptian constitution devoted numerous articles to the application of these two principles. Among these articles is Article 40 of the constitution which stipulated that citizens have equal rights and general responsibilities in the eyes of the law which does not discriminate between them on account of sex, national origin, language, religion or faith.

Article 46 also stipulated that "The state is to guarantee freedom of religion and the freedom to engage in religious rites." These two constitutional stipulations are positive and peremptory in determining the two Islamic principles: "There shall be no compulsion in religion," and "Jews and Christians have the same rights and responsibilities as Muslims have." In addition, it is also an accepted fact that any provision in the constitution would be explained in context and not out of context with the remaining constitutional provisions.

The personal affairs of non-Muslims, such as marriage and divorce, are subject to the laws of their faith.

From now on MAYU is calling for the need to set up training courses so that judges would have an opportunity to study and comprehend the new laws. MAYU is also calling for the need to speed up changes that are consistent with the new laws in the courses of study in colleges of law at Egyptian universities.

LEFTIST PAPER CONDEMNS EASY TREATMENT OF HIGH GOVERNMENT MALFEASANCE

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 24 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by 'Asim Hanafi: "Why Do Investigations Touching on Ministers End up Being Suspended?"]

[Text] It is strange that the ministers in Egypt have a special law governing their prosecution in cases of neglect and influence peddling, but nonetheless not a single minister has been tried in accordance with it yet!

Even stranger is that all the investigations that have dealt with the reputations of ministers have ended up being administratively suspended, because of a lack or insufficiency of evidence.

The names of 16 ministers and two prime ministers were cited in conjunction with the recent corruption cases. Only one former minister appeared before the office of the public prosecutor, which was in charge of investigating them. The reason was that he was not a member of the People's or Consultative Assembly. In any event, the investigation on him ended up being suspended also.

The others did not appear before the office of the prosecutor or the judiciary.

The office of the prosecutor contented itself with investigating a few facts without taking the trouble to summon the ministers for questioning, just as it had done with Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid and Hilmi 'Abd-al-Akhir, who published a statement in the papers refuting the charges levelled against them, which the public prosecutor considered in effect minutes of their statements!

It was as if the ministers were always right!

The Reputation of Ministers

The law on the prosecution of ministers has not been applied once since it came into being in 1958. The reason is that it is impossible to apply the articles in it. It stipulates that the president and the "National" Assembly can form a higher court of 12 members, half from Egypt and half from Syria.

It is of course out of the question in 1983 that we should summon six people from Syria to complete the composition of the court or carry out the provisions of the law, which was issued during the union with Syria.

Although the 1971 constitution referred to the need to prosecute ministers, in Articles 159 and 160, it stressed that they would be tried in accordance with the existing laws. That means, simply, that they would be tried in accordance with the abovementioned law on the prosecution of ministers. The legislators did not take the trouble to amend the provisions of the antiquated law.

For this reason, two ministers objected to being tried before the criminal court and demanded that the law on the prosecution of ministers be carried out, that the provisions of the constitution be deferred to and that the unworkable court be formed. These were Ahmad Nuh, the former minister of aviation, and Muhammad Marzuban, the former minister of economy, who were charged in 1976 in the Boeing commissions case, which has not yet been resolved.

Although the court of cassation has ruled that the office of the prosecutor has a natural right to indict ministers and have them tried before the ordinary judiciary, it, that is, the prosecutor's office, always comes up against another obstacle, which is the fact that the minister belongs to the People's or Consultative Assembly and therefore it is impossible to try him, conduct an investigation on him, even interrogate or arrest him or adopt any legal measure, unless immunity is waived through the auspices of the assembly to which the minister belongs.

Therefore, religious and civil jurists state that it is necessary to legislate the prosecution of ministers and issue a new law that will make it permissible to bring them to trial. They have in fact prepared a draft for such a law, but, for some reason, it is stumbling around in various byways.

The vice chairman of the Labor Party, Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad, shares our view that trying ministers in Egypt is almost an impossibility, as long as they belong to the ruling party, which has a majority in the People's Assembly. A charge might be raised against a minister, but for special reasons the party might see fit not to bring him to trial, in order to preserve the regime's reputation or not cast the party cabinet in a bad light.

Even levelling a charge or rebuke at a minister requires the agreement of five People's Assembly members, and the indictment must be issued by a majority of two thirds the members.

Charges are always raised against ministers, but, after they are investigated, the minister comes out sound, pure, clean and triumphant from them, as do the [illegible]. Statements of thanks and support for the reputation and integrity of the "gentleman" minister follow one another in succession in the papers.

Read last week's newspapers -- the nationwide ones, of course.

Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad wonders, "Why isn't there any interest in issuing a new law to prosecute ministers? If the government's concern is high and its appetite strong to issue laws on impropriety and laws restricting the freedoms of individuals, why doesn't it first of all issue a law regulating the trial of ministers with bad reputations?"

"According to the existing circumstances, it is not possible, in practice, to try a minister, question him, or interrogate him. This is because the body that has the power to make indictments unencumbered by government and People's Assembly oversight, by which I mean the office of the prosecutor, does not in practice have judiciary immunity."

Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad went on "This means that it is permissible to excuse or isolate members of the prosecutor's office, or reward them as well, and this explains the fate of the former public prosecutor in the two cases of the investigation of the charges directed against Hilmi 'Abd-al-Akhir and 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid."

[Question] What happened to him, Doctor?

[Answer] I will relate this incident in detail. After the socialist prosecutor dealt with some facts in the Rashad 'Uthman case that touched on the two former ministers, the office of the public prosecutor started the investigation. It is strange that it did not listen to the two ministers, but contented itself merely with a statement which they had published in the papers. In spite of this, the investigations by the prosecutor's office established many violations by the two ministers, including, for example:

Hilmi 'Abd-al-Akhir and Rashad 'Uthman went together to the al-Ma'murah Company to pay the down payment on the apartments for Rashad 'Uthman and Hilmi 'Abd-al-Akhir. The payment was by invoices with serial numbers that covered a single day.

It was established that Rashad 'Uthman had withdrawn an amount of money from the bank which was equal to the value of the down payment for all the apartments.

In fact, Mr Sami Mihran, the deputy minister in Hilmi 'Abd-al-Akhir's office, paid the money covering the furnishing of three cabanas belonging to him, the minister and Rashad 'Uthman to the Hannaux Company in Alexandria in a single day, by invoices with serial numbers.

In spite of all that, the public prosecutor suspended the investigation, and indeed asserted that what had happened was just a coincidence that had been repeated! He also volunteered to make an attack on the people who tried to cast doubts on the conduct of the "gentleman" minister, describing their style as "entailing great excesses, obvious self-degradation, and loathesome insolence!"

Note that the public prosecutor's charges against the critics of the minister reached the point of slander and open defamation, as you can see. You

will shortly understand why the public prosecutor became implicated in defending the two of them so heatedly.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] You will find out for yourself, after I relate what happened with Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid.

After the office of the prosecutor finished investigating the facts related to him, by stating, "The papers were devoid of any suspicion of crime but rather entailed administrative excesses, as regards the conduct he ventured to exhibit, which exhibited a lack of necessary care regarding matters related to major economic interests affecting the public treasury," the public prosecutor suspended the investigation and ignored that Article 116 (bis) of the Penal Code subjects public officials who through their mistakes cause grievous harm to government money to imprisonment and fines.

What have we here? The public prosecutor suspended the investigation of Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid as he had in the case of Hilmi 'Abd-al-Akhir.

However, the strangest aspect of the case came later, when his excellency the public prosecutor, having gone directly into retirement, was chosen by the cabinet to which the two ministers belonged to be a deputy in the People's Assembly for the Nile Valley, even though there were two counselors with seniority over him who had also gone into retirement.

This, in my opinion, is suborning the judiciary. Why should he have been chosen rather than someone else? If he had been dismissed because of political cases which were being contested, and about which doubts and suspicions had been raised, it would have been better and more proper if he had not been nominated for such a position; otherwise, he has been paid a price, especially since the decree on "promotion" has been made under the auspices of the same cabinet in which some members have been the object of charges and doubts.

The serious thing is that after that the two ministers, who had been given a bill of innocence and probity, started showing their faces again. 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid ran for election as head of the Commercial Workers' Union and Hilmi 'Abd-al-Akhir started appearing in public life, talking about the new election law and attacking the opposition and the government's adversaries.

Isn't that strange?

Surface Immunity

For years, the name of the current minister of petroleum has been appearing in the case of the procurement of two new oil tankers which were proved to have been "second hand" and unusable, after they had been imported. The government lost 8 million pounds as a consequence of that.

Nonetheless, the minister was not taken to account!

Why not?

Because he is a minister and because he is in office.

Another story: the name of the dismissed supply minister, Ahmad Nuh, appeared in the case regarding an illusory transaction in which the government paid \$7 million which went into some people's pockets.

Although the office of the prosecutor demanded that his immunity be waived, the People's Assembly did not agree that it should be waived completely, but agreed that it should just be waived so that he could be questioned. The office of the prosecutor specified a date for the questioning of the minister, and the chairman of the prosecutor's office sat waiting for him.

However, the minister did not appear, and the reason was that he had party business!

Therefore, the prosecutor's office does not have the power to summon, interrogate and direct charges, for a simple reason, which is that the prosecutor's office does not have immunity and independence.

The counsellor Kamal al-Matini was one of the counsellors at the court of cassation. He was also one of the assistant public prosecutors. He does not speak in this capacity, but in his capacity as a lawyer. He does not defend anyone, but reviews the circumstances which the men in the prosecutor's office have come to and speaks about the surface immunity for the members of the judiciary. It is clear that the government can intervene to destroy this immunity; he says:

"Do not be unfair to the members of the judiciary and the office of the prosecutor. Their independence arises from their conscience -- there is no law protecting this independence. Totally to the contrary -- the law imposes subordinate status on them, and its stipulations ruin and wreck this independence. We cannot ask the members of the prosecutor's office to be heroes and not be subjected to stubborn attitudes, or expect that those who cling to their independence not act like people who cling to live coals.

"According to the law on the judiciary power, all members of the public prosecutor's office, including the public prosecutor himself, are subordinate to the Minister of Justice, who has the power of administrative surveillance over them and has the right to impose disciplinary penalties on them and transfer them. Whoever has these powers in reality has the right to interfere in judiciary activity.

"For instance, the public prosecutor, as well as all the office of the prosecutor, can be dismissed by other than disciplinary means, at a time when no employee -- any employee -- can be dismissed however low his grade might be, other than by disciplinary means. It is easy to dismiss the members of the office of the prosecutor, and as a consequence theirs is a surface immunity and mere ink on paper.

"Let me state this frankly: the members of the judiciary do not possess the immunity which bailiffs do.

"To that I might add that the public prosecutor, who holds a key position in the government, is the guarantor of the degree of independence of the judiciary. In spite of that, the executive power alone has a monopoly in selecting and appointing him, and does not have to refer to anyone or ask the opinion of the higher court of the judiciary bodies.

"Therefore the same executive power has the ability to dismiss the public prosecutor without referring to any body and without getting the agreement of the higher court of the judiciary bodies, and indeed even without expressing the reasons for the dismissal.

"In less than 10 years three public prosecutors have been dismissed in this manner:

"In 1968 the public prosecutor Muhammad 'Abd-al-Salam was dismissed.

"In 1971, the public prosecutor 'Ali Nur-al-Din was dismissed.

"In 1978, the public prosecutor Ibrahim al-Qalyubi was dismissed.

"This is something which can happen to anyone occupying the position of public prosecutor.

"It is risky for the position of public prosecutor to continue to fail to enjoy guarantees or protection."

[Question] What is the solution, Mr Counsellor?

[Answer] It is for the public prosecutor to be chosen from among counsellors of the court of cassation. He should be chosen by the general assembly of the court for a period of 2 years, which can be renewed. If it considers him fit, it can give him another term, or it can choose someone else.

Thus the public prosecutor's loyalty will be to his own conscience, not to the executive power.

Let me say this frankly: it is abnormal to have the president head the higher council of judiciary bodies. He is not a member of the judiciary power. In his absence, the minister of justice takes his place in chairing the council, and he is not a member of the judiciary power either.

It is not acceptable for a judge to interfere in the affairs of the executive or legislative power either. This should not be considered belittlement of the status of the judge. Similarly, it is not acceptable for someone who is not a judge to interfere in the affairs of the judiciary power, and that should not be considered belittlement of the status of any individual or body.

There are specific jurisdictions, and the Egyptian constitution has adopted the principle of the separation of powers. We should either proceed in accordance with this theory, in order to realize the interests of the individual and the group and guarantee justice, or we should be frank with ourselves and state that this is just a slogan which is not applied.

Let me reiterate:

The People's Assembly is not headed by a minister, the Council of Ministers is not headed by a judge, so why should the higher council of judiciary authorities be headed by someone who is not a judge? That is a strange situation, without a doubt, isn't it.

We had hoped to review the views of the ministers whose names were cited in the investigations of the socialist prosecutor and the office of the public prosecutor -- investigations which were all suspended -- but one does not attain everything he hopes for.

The only minister who agreed to talk to AL-AHALI was Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid, and he agreed for special reasons: he considered that a political conspiracy was being hatched against him, that Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din was the mastermind of this conspiracy, and that we in AL-AHALI were a party to it. Otherwise, what was the sense in raising the issue of prosecuting ministers in this period specifically?

[Question] What is the story behind the conspiracy, Mr Minister?

[Answer] Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din raised the Rashad 'Uthman case, and dragged me into it, with one objective, which was to remove me from the ministry.

[Question] What was the reason?

[Answer] He has been jealous of me and resented me since President al-Sadat, may God have mercy on him, described me as Egypt's "Erhard." Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din is so afraid of me that rancor totally blinded him and he brought in the Rashad 'Uthman case!

[Question] What about the socialist prosecutor's investigations?

[Answer] The socialist prosecutor did not make an investigation of me. He did not exchange a single word with me. What happened was that one of the deputy ministers, on a signal from Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, presented a "notice" against me to the socialist public prosecutor. The prosecutor did not investigate, but the notice was handed over to the court of ethics, which took the initiative of investigating it, as it would with any other notice presented to it.

[Question] However, the court of ethics pointed out serious violations, such as the incident of the return of the customs duties.

[Answer] The judiciary established my innocence, when it ruled that the customs duties should be returned to all the merchants.

[Question] Regarding your nickname as the "Erhard" of Egypt, don't you believe that you submitted false data to the People's Assembly regarding the budget?

[Answer] I am innocent even of that. Salah Hamid knows that very well, since it is he who prepared these figures. Listen, I will tell you something: the data bearing on the budget which I presented to the People's Assembly is correct, but they "played" with it, so that the budget would appear to be in deficit.

[Question] For what reason?

[Answer] So that they could say, "We came to reform the budget," and that would be a justification for their staying in office.

[Question] Why didn't the minister of finance, Dr Salah Hamid, testify in your defense?

[Answer] Would he testify in my defense in order to lose his position and chair? They hold on to their places, sir.

[Question] Doctor, most frankly, your name and reputation have become the subject of talk and gossip recently; why don't you resort to the judiciary, so the truth can become known?

[Answer] I have been asked not to go before the judiciary.

[Question] Who asked you not to, and why?

[Answer] I will not say who asked me not to, but they did tell me, "Do not go to the judiciary, so that the stability of the regime may be preserved." For that reason, I have become the wronged party.

[Question] Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid, the prosecutor's office dealt with the facts related to you, but it has not summoned you to appear before it. Does that mean that it has "deferred to you?" Could you explain the significance of this for us?

[Answer] That is the office of the prosecutor, fellows. Are you complaining about the prosecutor's office? The public prosecutor did not stand by my side for a simple reason: he knows all the dimensions of the case and he knows that it was a conspiracy whose intention was to get me out of the cabinet.

[Question] Frankly, Doctor, I do not believe the story about the conspiracy. For instance, what is the purpose behind it?

[Answer] To ride to power and stay in power. That is the original idea. They are committed to a policy. They are not working on behalf of the public interest but rather on behalf of their own personal interests. In whose interests is it for our economic situation to be as it ought to be? As it is, people can come and say that our conditions are bad.

They removed me because I did not go along with Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din and his political games. Do you understand?

[Answer] No.

He went off. I left the man, who describes himself as a "member of the opposition!"

There remains the question, which I admit I failed to answer:

Who brings the government to trial?

Do you know?

11887

CS0: 4504/581

LABOR LEADERS REVEAL CORRUPT PRACTICES IN UNION MOVEMENT

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 24 Aug 83 p 7

/Article by Hasan Badawi: "Four Textile Worker Leaders Reveal Aberrant Behavior in Union Movement: How Do the Friends of the Interior /Ministry/ and the Ruling Parties Control the Labor Unions?"

/Text/ Next September the way will be paved for people to run for election to a new labor union term.

Since the union formation is a democratic one, defending the interests of the workers and preserving and developing their gains, a kind of authority is disturbed by this sort of organization!

Therefore, it is anxious that these organizations should be undemocratic and unconcerned with the masses, so that the masses' dependence on these leaders will be enhanced.

To achieve that objective, these leaders interfere in the nominations and elections administratively and politically and through the police. They oppress union personnel who are really closely connected to the masses by transferring them from the job, imprisonment, the trumping up of charges, threats and enticements. If workers win in elections, the harassment begins, through severance from the union organization and other means.

These rulers bring in personnel who are pliant, support them and make it easy for them to act aberrantly, in order to facilitate their continued surveillance and compel their obedience so that they will represent management, the agencies and the rulers, rather than their labor base, and will confront that base.

These official union personnel who are obedient and compliant, and who do not raise problems, have been stifling the union movement for many long years, coexisting with management and the successive agencies of the regime, especially its security agencies!

In the face of all these conditions, other, true unionists, who fight for the restoration of the union to its original condition, as a mass democratic organization defending the interests of the workers, have persevered.

In August 1976, the board of directors of the General Textile Union met under the chairmanship of the late Ahmad Fahim to evaluate previous union activity, and in the end it appointed four union members who had played a prominent role in the union movement in the textile sector--al-'Izab Shata, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Jawad al-Qattan, Lutfi 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Shahawi and Fikri Ibrahim al-Khuli.

The board resolved to send each of them thanks and a token bonus of 100 pounds.

At that time these four union members were prohibited from running as candidates in the elections by political decree, after they had come out of prison, which had really and truly included all the labor union staffs, in 1959.

These union men spoke about the problems of the labor union movement in Egypt, especially in the textile sector, the oldest and greatest of Egyptian industries:

Muhammad 'Abd-al-Jawad al-Qattan, first secretary of the Federation of Textile Workers' Unions in the Republic.

Al-'Izab Muhammad Shata, reserve member of the board of directors of the General Textile Union and member of the union general assembly.

Rashad al-Jabali, chairman of the union committee in the Misr Hilwan Company in the two 1971-1976 terms and member of the secretariat general of the Progressive Unionist Grouping Party.

Abu-al-'Izz al-Hariri, member of the secretariat general of the Grouping Party and former workers' deputy for Kurmuz in the People's Assembly.

Union Members for All Ages

The General Textile Workers' Union contains about half a million workers and was established in 1956. Since that date, it has been dominated by a group which has not changed: Salah Gharib, 'Ali Dafda', Ibrahim Shalabi and 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Dassuqi.

Concerning the reason why this group has dominated the union for 12 years, Rashad al-Jabali says,

"This group controls the composition of the general assembly and the organization of the union board. They are helped in that by the fact that the general assembly is the same for the republic as a whole and most of its members are from Alexandria and al-Buhyrah, where the textile industry is concentrated. Since the main blocs of textile workers are there, the terror which is directed against them by agencies and departments is greater than anywhere else, and this group can mobilize a large number as general assembly members and bargain with them over the elections. They can provide cars and every form of resource to people whom they choose to attend the general assembly."

A Democratic Choice--How?

The four union members present specific recommendations for realizing a democratic context for the general union:

The direct election of union delegates to the general assembly by the workers, rather than selection by the union committee.

The convening of the general assembly in the framework of various areas, with each area to select its representatives to the general union in accordance with the proportionate representation of worker blocs.

They consider that the current leaders' opposition to the selection of board members by their own labor bases, in accordance with proportionate representation, expresses their fear of these bases, which know a great deal about them.

How Did They Take over the Union?

Various cabinets played a basic role in supporting this group which has monopolized the General Textile Workers' Union. This is described by al-'Izab Shata, one of the union leaders since the forties, who says:

"In the period before 1959, I was a General Textile Union head in Shubra al-Khaymah; our colleague Muhammad al-Qattan was in the Cairo union and secretary of the general union. We were preparing the bylaws for the union, to cover the republic as a whole, and our power had reached the point where security people were saying, 'It isn't necessary that all your members remain--12 or 15 are enough.' At that time, the 1959 arrests, in which the union personnel were arrested, took place, followed by the law on unions and the formation of the general union in abnormal circumstances, in the absence of staffs which had been in charge of constant union activity for 20 years prior to that. When we came out of prison, /illegible/ for candidacy was issued and the authorities also provided the climate where this group could be present and persevere up to this point. In the 1971 session, we entered the elections after our suspension was removed, but this group had taken over the union and had been able to do so for 12 years, being satisfactory to the agencies and departments, whose interests were linked with theirs. None of them denies that he is the authorities' man and that he is looking out for his own interests, but he will tell you 'By God, if you can come in please do so.'"

Coexistence in Political and Security Terms

Abu-al-'Izz al-Hariri considers that there has been more than one key to this group's control of the general union. He summarizes these keys as follows:

Coexistence in security terms, in the sense of establishing relations with the various security agencies of the government and turning these unions into a barrier guaranteeing that new labor union personnel whom it might not be easy to control or dominate will not enter. Thus, these union members have guaranteed a basic part of the aims of the government, which runs almost all its affairs in an open or covert manner.

The political aspect, in the sense that the National Union, the Socialist Union and the Egypt and National Parties were considered one of the reasons for

satisfaction with these people and their support. These union men, with their security and political connections, played a security role in the organizations, or what is called the undeclared guidance of the parties and the powers by means of personnel whom it was easy to control and who were told when to act and when not to act.

This group rode the wave of nationalizations which led to the climate of national revival, especially in the ranks of the working class. These personnel at that time were looming over the union organization.

Postponement of the union elections after the 1964 term because of the (1967) setback. This postponement even helped people in this group who were not suspect to understand the game and prepare themselves. New union personnel who could have played a part on behalf of the working class and the nation in general were removed.

The ambitions of these union personnel were connected to the realization of their own interests, by ignoring the interests of the working class and their connection with security and political matters. It was not a coincidence that about 90 percent of the union leaders present in all occupations in Egypt today got promoted to Grade One, Two, or Three, even though none of them had engaged in any occupational activity for 10 or 20 years, by buttering up to management and the agencies!

The General Assembly Does Not Meet

The general assembly is supposed to be the highest authority in the union structure; the various union levels are supposed to be subject to its oversight and accounting and to present a list of its activities to it. However, what happens in Egypt is totally the opposite of what is supposed to happen.

Al-'Izab Shata says:

"When the general union's general assembly meets, the budget of the previous period is not presented to it. It is not even printed up and distributed to the members of the assembly before it meets so that everyone can review it through the union committees. As a result these leaders can falsify the budget."

Violations in the Absence of Worker Supervision

As a result of disregard of the general assembly and its activities, and the fact that the power of the union is a monopoly in the hands of this group and democracy is absent from the union organization, a number of violations are committed.

Al-'Izab Shata says:

"A hospital was constructed for the union in 1974 to serve employees and their families for a token fee--medical examinations for 10 piasters, operations for 6 to 37 pounds, and a night's stay in the hospital for 1 pound, which has now become, for example, 3 pounds. The board emptied out the nurses' dwelling in the hospital

within the union hospital for 50 pounds a month to Dr Ahmad Muhammad Fatim, director of the union hospital. This is reflected in the manner in which the workers and their families have been dealt with and treatment fees. In addition, major parts of the union building have been rented out, as follows:

"A pharmacy for the doctor who is the son-in-law of our brother and colleague Ibrahim Shalabi.

"A lawyer's office for Mr Ahmad Khamis, who draws up regulations covering their conduct.

"An engineering office for the nephew of our colleague 'Ali Dafda', whose name is Sa'd al-Khawaliq.

"Sixteen rooms for company board chairmen.

"A building of 260 /square/ meters for the Syrian citizen Fuhayd 'Abd-al-Jalil Ghinam.

"A textile plant, a garage the size of the hospital building, and a readymade clothing factory.

"A 40- /square/-kilometer storeroom for the director of the union.

"On top of this one should bear in mind that the value of the places adjacent to the union building comes to 1,000 pounds per square meter."

Squandering the Workers' Money

It is natural that the hands of this dominant group should extend to the union's money, and indeed the money of the Arab Spinning Federation. Rashad al-Jabali offers some examples:

A number of general union labor leaders appropriated a sum estimated at about 80,000 pounds, including about 64,000 pounds of the general union's money and 42,000 pounds of the Arab Spinning Federation's money. The case was handed over to the office of the public prosecutor, then to the socialist prosecutor, and everyone whose name appeared in the notice was questioned in 1977. In addition, our colleague Sayyid 'Abd-al-Halim notified the minister of manpower and the chairman of the General Federation of Workers of this matter.

When he was minister and chairman of the General Federation of Labor in 1973, Salah Gharib took the sum of 6,000 pounds on the excuse that it was for General Intelligence; that was recorded under the subheading of undocumented cultural expenditures. When this was brought up, 'Ali al-Dafda', chairman of the General Textile Union at that time, claimed that he had seen that errors by General Intelligence had required this sum. The matter was investigated by the Central Accounting Agency. We do not know what this investigation has come up with so far.

The sum of 8,000 pounds was paid out to Kamal Hilal, a carpentry contractor, to buy two first aid vehicles! What is the relationship between carpentry and the purchase of first aid vehicles? The fact is that the two vehicles were entered as a gift from the Occupational Federation of Textile Workers' Unions in Syria to the union hospital. Kamal received this sum in 1974, after the vehicles had arrived.

Administrative Surveillance, the same year, discovered a check in the name of Hasan Tulbah Marzuq, secretary general of the union, for the sum of 2,400 pounds, while the check documentation shows that the amount was the union's share of Arab Federation of Textile Worker dues. When we informed the union chairman of that in early 1975, he claimed that he did not know about it and promised to negotiate with the union secretary to return the amount, without raising the matter officially before the union board.

The sum of 40,000 pounds was paid out for paint and maintenance for the summer resort in the summer of 1976. These activities were assigned to al-Sa'id Basyuni, formerly an Egyptian Textile Company employee in Kafr al-Dawwar, and our colleague 'Ali Dafda', the current vice chairman of the union, who performed maintenance and whitewashing work frequently, and even did upholstering a number of times, in addition to Rifa'i 'Atiyah, in whose name a check was drawn for more than 20,000 pounds, and Hasan Isma'il Yaqut, in whose name a check was drawn for more than 400 pounds. This activity was assigned to all of them, by personal agreement with 'Ali Dafda', without bidding, negotiation or any legal procedure.

Six hundred pounds were paid out to Salah Gharib in October and November 1976, same as to all the members of the union board nominated for membership in the People's Assembly, although Salah Gharib's membership in the union had expired in July 1976!

As part of the Arab Textile Workers' Federation funds, 3,500 Syrian pounds were received as dues from the Textile Workers' Federation in Syria to the Arab Federation, but that was not deposited in the bank to the federation's account.

Parasitic Behavior and Union Activity

With the start of the seventies, enmity toward the working class began to be a policy pursued by official union leaders in cooperation with the authorities, specifically with the application of the liberalization policy and the growth of the role of parasitic capitalism. These leaders, in their effort to realize their own interests, became subordinates of parasitic capitalism, participating with or blessing all the legislation it passed and indeed, more than that, as Abu-al-'Izz al-Hariri said,

"A shift was made from maintaining silence about hostile legislation to the adoption of a common position in drawing up this legislation which was economically hostile to the interests of the workers, such as economic liberalization and so forth, then the effort to create legislation which would limit the workers' activity and their freedom to defend their own interests and the use of what were known as workers' representatives in the various people's and local assemblies in order to finish them off."

Tailoring Laws

The matter of tailoring laws is not a distinctive feature which is the monopoly of the People's Assembly alone--the assembly which has issued the greatest number of laws as quickly as possible, so that if a citizen screams with pain from a disease, a law is issued against him for irking the authorities, and, if he does not scream, a law is issued suspecting him of being about to, while if he laughs, a law on impropriety is issued against him and if he smiles a law is tailormade against him for inciting impropriety!

This distinctive feature has come to apply to all institutions. In the labor unions, the law on unions was amended by Law 135 for 1979 emptying the union committees of their contents and stripping them of any jurisdiction or valid reason for existence.

Rashad al-Jabali adds,

"This amendment has stripped the union committees of the ability to make agreements with management except through the general union. This is a usurpation of real worker representation."

Neglect of the Workers' Problems

It is natural, in light of these official union leaders' heated pursuit of their own interests, that they should neglect the workers' problems, which are being exacerbated every day.

Rashad al-Jabali says,

"They do not have a feeling for the union's role in providing services for workers, especially in the area of housing. We demand that a nature of work allowance be paid out in accordance with financial grades and not employment grades and that an allowance for meals be paid out, so that this allowance can be estimated by computing the cost of the meal according to current prices, by retaining the gains of the workers which are being struck down today, among them the right to work 7 hours."

Trumped up Charges

In early 1976, the state security investigator accused some labor leaders in Alexandria of forming a communist organization. Three witnesses were brought, Ibrahim Shalabi, Fathi 'Abd Rabbuh, and Muhammad al-Mazati, the official leaders of the union. Abu-al-'Izz al-Hariri relates that episode, stating,

"These charges were trumped up shortly before the labor union elections in June 1976, which were preceded by an escalation in workers' activity in Alexandria and conferences which demanded that meals be made available to all workers throughout the republic. Nineteen workers were put in prison for a period of 2 months on the charge that they had been holding meetings and locking the doors behind themselves in the general union building! The investigator did not offer anything regarding this trumped up charge except the testimony of these three official union leaders,

and, after the workers left prison on 31 May 1976, they were surprised by a decree by 'Isa Shahin, the minister of industry at that time and the Socialist Union secretary in Alexandria, removing them from five major textile companies in Alexandria to Aswan, al-Fayyum, the Red Sea, Qina, Naj' Hammadi and Kima. They still are dispersed."

Abu-al-'Izz al-Hariri wonders,

"How can these union members go and give testimony that is not true? Why didn't the General Federation of Workers and the General Textile Union defend these workers?"

The Union in an Alien Situation

The recent period has witnessed the phenomenon of a proliferation of cases filed by workers on an individual basis, which the union is not taking charge of. In the Dyegoods and Chemical Company in al-Buhayrah, for example, 500 cases have been filed individually by workers against the company, outside the context of the union. The union is supposed to take charge of defending the workers and spend money from its budget on the cases, because it will recoup the expenses of the cases from the company in the event it wins the case.

However, the official union members are in an alien situation, and the reason for that is the undemocratic formation--the agencies, departments and organizations which permit these people to control the positions of worker representation.

Finally, the situation requires some awareness on the part of the masses of the workers, some conscious movement, mobilization and organization, which the real union leaders will venture toward, to return their union organization, which they have won through their own struggle, to the struggle of millions of workers since the latter part of the last century in coping with successive epochs of tyrannical rule and colonialism, in order that it may truly become a mass democratic organization defending the interests of the working class.

This is the test the Egyptian working class will enter in a few weeks, when the elections to the new union term start.

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CONSUMER EXPLOITATION REPORTED

Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic 8 Aug 83 p 9

/Article by Sa'id Abu Haliqah: "So That Exploitation Does Not Return"/

/Text/ In a previous article, we discussed the new class. We touched on certain exploitive and nonproductive aspects that are tearing at the backbone of production and are changing the goals of the socialist society into a group of special interests from which only a few individuals benefit. In any event, this is the capitalist way generated by bourgeois circumstances for which the efforts of man have not been compensated. As proof, the affluent upper class has been permitted to create a climate that serves their goals and purposes completely and fully. We find that the capitalist market does not offer production because society and the individual needs it. On the contrary, it scatters these luxury goods throughout its traps along with these special interest goals. Even in light of the destruction of their rotten structure, we do not find it at all strange that their same capitalist angles have appeared in another guise. We might not find the middleman or the commercial agent advertising themselves, but we do find them continuing with the same goals and dealing with the same circumstances. As evidence of that, we find some supplementary circumstances that the individual or the family can do, with the structure of the new class attempting to get in the middle of them again and defending their existence despite the consequences in terms of the death of the concept of production.

Perhaps, in the previous series, we showed some pictures of the new shops and traps scattered throughout the streets of the cities. That was the best evidence of what we are talking about, since we lay bare the climate of the new class. We are raising an objective balance that is tantamount to a practical reply to those who are trying to deceive us through their spurious roles. It is clearly not production when one makes no physical or mental effort to share in something that is not produced and cannot be charged against the productive society, because he consumes without producing. Moreover, anything that the individual can do himself does not require an agent. The refreshment shops, as their owners call them, do not offer a minimum of sharing in production, because what they do can be done by the individual himself or only within his family. They are no more than a picture of the affluent bourgeois society that offers luxuries instead of production. In regard to building the productive society, we question the justification for the existence of these forms.

Who are those who permit this? Who are those who share in its appearance in a new form? Of course, we shall leave the answers to these questions to the new ministries!

What concerns us in this aspect is that we want to raise it with the masses of the popular congresses, so that we can have the last word and erradicate the classes that are trying to emerge with deliberate intransigence, but whose nature is against the popular interests. The truth of that is the high and affluent life. So that a new class will not appear in the refreshment and sweet shops that are scattered about in a dreadful fashion, we wish to discuss this time the practice of exploitation in an attempt, thereby, to bring it back and bless it in defiance of the Libyan Arab people who made the decision to live under the aegis of a partnership and productive society.

Without being longwinded, we should look with considerable need at the figures that we obtained from the commodities agency. Let us look at the extent that this new class benefits from the subsidies that society offers for its basic materials. We can see that wheat and its derivatives, such as flour and the like, were subsidized by the amount of 22 million Libyan dinars, while sugar is being subsidized in the amount of 1.5 million dinars, and the rest of the other materials that the agency imports are also still subsidized by 6 million dinars.

One kilo of sugar, therefore, costs about 150 dirhams, while the cost of a kilo of flour is about 85 dirhams.

When we consider the costs of these materials in comparison to their true costs, and their price after subsidies, and the huge amounts of these things that the exploitive shops consume, we can come to the conclusion that these middlemen greedily devour the principal foodstuffs of society and use all kinds of trickery to line their pockets. Our proof is that we find the worse types of these refreshments being sold at exorbitant prices, up to 1.2 dinars for 1 kilo, when that in fact should not cost more than 400 dirhams for 1 kilo. We leave it up to the citizen to compare for himself in terms of the price of the subsidized materials.

We call for these places to be raided and their owners sent to places of production, and that the foreign workers whom these exploiters employ in these eating places be fired. Along the line of modern automated bakeries, public bakeries or public factories should be created for society to manufacture these refreshments, if the Libyan Arab people decide that they want to eat pastry and live on the refreshments that help to soften their bodies. However, an alternative is to use grains; they are the strategic foods for all peoples who depend on themselves to provide their own needs. Let us look at the completely healthy food provided by grains and their derviatives. We only want to raise the level of production. The Prophet, God's blessings be upon him, says: "Get tough, or civilization will not endure."

We are now in fact preoccupied with that.

As regards our investigation, let us look at something that one of the foreign employees in one of the nests of exploitation said:

"It is strange here in the Jamahiriyah. You see many things that are different from what is going on in the world. Perhaps I can give an example about the way refreshments are used, their prices and how they are offered to consumers. We see that most of the people make things like this in their family and do not need shops like these to do that for them. Moreover, their costs should be no more than 3 or 400 dirhams for 1 kg. This is where the situation here differs. If we consider that its true cost here, we should see that it should not exceed 400 dirhams per kilogram, in view of the cheap prices for the basic materials in making and preparing the refreshments. But, they are sold for exorbitant prices, and the ratio of profit for the owners of the shops is about 200 percent. This would in fact be a crime, if it were done in any other country. I find it strange that there is no controlled pricing for these materials. Everything is by mutual agreement.

"The fact is that you need an information program aimed at guiding the consumer and the household economy. These things must be made in the homes. It is not a complex process, but is very simple and doesn't cost much. Making them is wholesome and clean in the homes, if man needs them. However, any healthy benefit for the body is nonexistent. They are the source of many disease, such as diabetes, high blood pressure, tooth decay and so forth, as doctors and the reports of international food organizations. Therefore, I do not see any justification for this greed that we see here in this country with regard to the use of sweets. This is something to be feared. I say this not out of my self interest; I am committed to the truth and I am in this good country."

This is what we wanted to offer, emulating the words of the proverb: "People of Mecca, know themselves best."

So that an idle group does not remain to live at the expense of the producers, we are appealing to the revolutionary committees to continue in caring for the masses to uncover places of exploitation and agency, in order to get rid of all forms of this behavior, so that the prosperous and happy society can be achieved, the society of production, partnership and just distribution. We must not for 1 hour give an opportunity for exploitation and oppression to return.

7005

CSO: 4504/538

NEWSPAPER CALLS FOR REFORM IN JUDICIARY SYSTEM

Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 16 Jun 83 p 1

[Article: "On the Road to Complete Justice"]

[Text] Perhaps the most obvious significance in presenting the strategy for realizing complete justice which President and Commander Numayri has set forth, as his third term is still in its first month, lies in the assertion of the serious effort to apply the contents of the comprehensive political program which the masses of the people approved almost unanimously, and on whose basis they elected the president and commander.

While reforming the agencies and cleaning them of corruption is one of the major tasks which the president and commander has promised his people he will undertake, the fact that the reform and cleansing campaign will start with the judiciary system is to be considered a successful step and a sound ordering of priorities, because a just judiciary which possesses integrity is the backbone for the stability of society and the sanctuary in which its members may feel security. Without the sovereignty of the rule of law, and the soundness of its application, all the material gains the people will realize will remain exposed to ruin.

The people have greeted the president and commander's step to reform the judiciary with contentment and receptivity, not because the people are exasperated with their judges or desire to defame them, but because the people, out of the genuineness of their feelings and the depth of their perceptions, realize that the judiciary cannot be upright if doubts about the people who direct it are constantly repeated, and the pillars of justice will not be straight if litigants are not secure in the proper course of the measures of applying the laws and the probity of those laws.

What cannot be doubted is that the citizens, individuals and groups, are moaning with complaints about the slowness of litigation procedures and procrastination in reviewing cases and the repeated errors which plague the issuance of verdicts.

There are no doubt reasons and causes for all these negative phenomena which lie within the judiciary system and the performance of judges and lawyers.

The president and commander has put his hand on the sources of the remedy, and in his extensive speech the day before yesterday afternoon presented an accurate analysis of the source of the slow progress of justice and the doubts and uncertainties that cloak some of the people who are in charge of it.

The president did not content himself with diagnosing the ailment. Rather, he presented suitable solutions and issued guidelines that could restore to justice its early course and restore confidence and satisfaction to the citizens' spirits.

The president's directives on reviewing litigation measures with the objective of simplifying them, on creating new judiciary agencies to alleviate the pileup of cases in the main courts, and on expanding the provision of free legal services for the citizens are all steps which have struck at the heart of the ailment and reopened the door of hope that justice would be done in full.

In addition, the steps the president declared would be taken with respect to the criteria for choosing judges, where justice would be the handmaiden of honesty, and with respect to the circumstances of the judges' work, will all have the effect of finally fulfilling the conditions necessary for guaranteeing the effectiveness of the judiciary and its statements, and the judiciousness of its rulings.

We know that if the presentation the president and commander made is to be carried out, the efforts of the government and the men of the law everywhere, and all the citizens, will have to be joined, in order for the goal at which this upright strategy was aimed, which is to spread justice about through all areas of the country, and preserve the judiciary and the judges from sliding into the depths of suspicion and doubt, to be attained.

The interests of all the people are related to the execution of this clear strategy, and the people will not allow any group to undertake to obstruct the attainment of their interests.

Therefore, we urge the minority that is hesitant or has reservations to review its conscience and put the interests of the people and the nation above its narrow interests, regain its senses and support this blessed step, so that it will reach its noble goals.

Our people are closely watching everything that goes on with open eyes, are always prepared to defend their gains, and are able to distinguish between what their own good requires and what will bring harm to their interests and will damage their values and principles.

We, with our people, most firmly support this new revolution to reform the affairs of the judiciary by applying the strategy of justice in full. May victory always belong to the truth and justice.

SUDAN

ROLE OF FOREIGN BANKS IN SUDAN SCRUTINIZED

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 50, Jul 83 p.10

[Article: "The Commercial Banks Are 'Taking Risks' in the Sudan Market -- and Making a Profit"]

[Text] In spite of the Sudan's difficult financial conditions and the numerous restrictions on foreign currency and bank transactions, the commercial banks operating there have managed to realize good profits. In fact, it might be hard to come by such profits in rich, stable markets. In the course of opening up to the private sector and foreign investment, the Sudanese government has paved the way for licensing Sudanese or joint Sudanese-foreign commercial banks, a condition for their creation in the case of foreign banks, in order to ensure their activities. The first of these banks, the National Bank of the Sudan by name, has been established and actually started operating in October 1982. Participation in the bank was distributed as follows:

Fifteen percent to the Mebco Bank (in Lebanon). This bank played a basic role in establishing the Sudanese bank.

Thirty percent to the Petra Bank (in Jordan), 20 percent of whose shares are owned by the Mebco Bank.

Fifty-five percent to the Sudanese parties who consist of 22 private sector participants.

The capital of the new bank has been set at \$10 million. It is operating under bond from the Mebco and Petra Banks, and is being run by the Jordanian Petra Bank, in accordance with a management contract with the owners.

It should be pointed out that the National Bank of the Sudan is the only one that is owned by the private sector, since the Sudan's five banks have been nationalized. Operating alongside them are the branches of foreign banks, whose number comes to about 80. Among these are Citibank, which has been operating since late 1979, the Sudanese World Bank (Credit Lyonnais), and the Abu Dhabi National Bank, in addition to the Faysal Islamic Bank.

What is prompting Lebanese and Jordanian banks to "take risks" in such a market as the Sudan?

Mr Ja'far Jalabi, one of the senior officials in the Mebco Bank group, told AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL that three important elements encouraged the step:

1. The presence of a substantial expatriate community of an estimated 50,000 Lebanese and Syrians in the Sudan. This community (which is commonly called the "Syrian community") played a leading role in the Sudanese economy before the nationalizations, and still is influential in the framework of the private sector.
2. The massive latent [absorptive] capacity of the Sudanese economy, especially in the area of foreign trade financing. "The Sudan in practice needs to import everything, and there is a pressing need for financing."
3. The increasing opening up by the Sudanese regime to the private sector and to foreign capital, which has created a new climate of confidence, even though many difficulties persist.

Perhaps all of these factors are basic, but they alone are not enough to explain the reason for taking the risk of investing in a country that is suffering from a state of real hardship and is blatantly deficient in foreign currency, which also applies very stringent, perhaps unfair statutes in the realm of financing and exchange rates, by embracing an official rate for the pound which is twice the real rate in the unofficial market or the "black" market. For example, Sudanese law makes it mandatory that operating banks hold onto a high percentage of their liquid cash in foreign currency to finance transactions for importing pharmaceuticals and some necessary foodstuffs. However, the settlement of these operations takes place on the basis of the official rate for the pound, which makes the banks' losses double. They lose part of their revenues in foreign currency and they lose in exchanging these allocations for local currency when payment falls due. Even though the interest rate, for borrowers, in the Sudan is around 25 percent, that is not enough to compensate moneylosing banks for their exchange rate losses in such activities.

In addition to that, Sudanese law makes it mandatory that the banks, in export financing activities, sell 50 percent of export revenues in hard currency to the Central Bank, again on the basis of the official rate, and permits them to hold onto just 50 percent of these revenues.

All these restrictions seem to be understandable in the Sudan's current circumstances, especially its severe lack of foreign currency, which has reached the point where the Central Bank has become incapable of financing government imports and officials are prompted to leave this role to the commercial banks for the most part.

How are the commercial banks in the Sudan compensated for these restrictions and losses arising from the methods of calculating the exchange rate of the pound?

That is done through two basic factors:

1. Operations carried out to the account of the private sector, for the most part import financing. This constitutes about 70 percent of the banks' activities, which are in general profitable.

2. The high interest and commissions which the banks receive as a way of covering risk in the country, first of all, then compensating for the losses resulting from the methods of calculating the exchange rate on some operations carried out to the account of the public sector or for the imports of some vital materials whose prices are subsidized by the government.

11887

CSO: 4504/554

MARKET FOR NATION'S SUGAR OUTPUT REVIEWED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 181, 30 Jul-5 Aug 83 p 46

[Article: "In Spite of the Accumulated Al-Kinana Factory Debts, Sudanese Sugar Is Suitable for Arab Markets"]

[Text] Khartoum expects that the al-Kinana sugar mill will start exporting limited amounts of its output at the start of the next season, that is, October, 6 months before the stipulated date for the startup of exports. It is expected that the Middle East countries will be the main market for Sudanese sugar. In reality, the al-Kinana company has started to produce different types of sugar which are suited to the tastes of consumers in the Middle East, and it has started studying the production of different types of liquid drops desired by Sudanese consumers after the experiment on test production was made on this type of liquid.

In the desire to complete preparations for export, the company intends to award bids for the construction of sugar warehouses in Port Sudan at a later point this year. The Saudi Development Fund has guaranteed the financing for these installations through an easy term loan of US \$36 million, part of which has been used to finance the construction of the fourth pump station for the al-Kinana plant and another part for the construction of a 70-bed hospital.

A Vital Process

The Sudanese government is attaching the utmost importance to the startup of export activities. The development of the Sudanese sugar export markets is considered to be a vital process in establishing the economic feasibility of the al-Kinana plant, and perhaps the destiny of the project as a whole. Although the al-Kinana plant is considered a successful achievement from the technical standpoint, its failure to export, and consequently its lack of foreign currency, has made it unable to pay off the debts that it incurred in order to finance its installations, which came to about \$800 million, and has also made it unable to distribute profits among its founders. One should bear in mind that the financial status of the al-Kinana plant might improve somewhat during the current year as a result of

the Sudanese government's agreement to pay the price of its purchases of about 150,000 tons of sugar per year in hard currency.

The administration of the plant anticipates that the company's financial deficit will continue to the end of 1986, and for this reason the company has avoided setting dates for the start of payment of its debts or the payment of profits to shareholders until further notice.

The Arab countries participating in the al-Kinayah company in particular are bearing the brunt of the project's difficulties; they have provided the bulk of its financing. Heading these countries are Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, which together own about 42 percent of the company's stock, followed by the Arab International Company, headquartered in Riyadh, which has 11 percent of the stock.

Sources in this company state that it has "despaired" of the possibility of getting any return on the money it invested in the company and has as a result relinquished 50 percent of the basic value of its shares, totalling US \$62.3 million, and it is now prepared to relinquish the remaining 50 percent. It is worth mentioning that this company is also owed debts by al-Kinayah that come to an additional \$15.6 million!

11887
CSO: 4504/554

COMPREHENSIVE HOUSING PLAN DESCRIBED

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-'AMAL in Arabic No 50, Jul 83 Supplement pp 1-2

[Article: "The Government Opens the Housing File in Lebanon."]

[Text] Following the negotiations with Israel, the housing file was the first one which President Amin al-Jumayyil opened, since the housing crisis, with all its political, economic and social dimensions, is the first concern of the Lebanese. Solving this crisis amounts to taking the principal step in the direction of reducing the burdens of life.

President al-Jumayyil gathered together last month the heads of the economic associations and the major companies, as well as those active on the "housing front," including two former ministers, Michel al-Murr and Amin al-Bizri. He presented them with a housing plan drawn up by the minister of housing and cooperatives, Baha' al-Din al-Bisat, during the last three months, asking that they study it and comment on it.

The plan was based on studies done earlier which dealt with the tax and real estate systems, as well as the means by which housing cooperatives could be encouraged, the insuring of the real estate needed for housing, and the means of financing housing.

The plan is quite comprehensive. It sets forth housing needs and goals, as well as the styles and means of executing the plan. It mobilizes the efforts of both the private and the public sectors in order to meet these needs and achieve these goals. It sets out the role of each sector, and foresees investing approximately 3 billion Lebanese lira each year (in 1983 prices) in achieving several objectives. The most important of them are:

- 1) building 400,000 housing units between 1983 and the year 2000. This means building an average of 23,000 homes a year.
- 2) Dealing with the lack of focus in the area of housing, preserving the environment and the country's farm land, and providing the various types of services to the residential areas which are to be established.

3) Providing dwellings at the lowest possible price, and placing these dwellings within the reach of all the coasses, following a study of what dwellings are best suited for the various segments of Lebanese society.

So that the plan will not be merely ink on paper, the details of application have been dealt with, as well as the means by which the necessary funds and investments can be provided. The following broad outlines have been drawn:

1) Essentially, the plan depends on the cooperatives to implement the housing programs, rather than relying solely on housing loans as is now the case. The cooperatives have lowered the cost of a dwelling by half according to the estimates of the Ministry of Housing. Of course, the ministry will decide the types of appropriate dwellings needed by Lebanese society. It will also encourage the use of quick, economic and modern building methods.

2) In order to be more realistic, the plan took into consideration the fact that the rental sector will play a prominent role in solving the problem, since it is the sector most able to attract and invest capital. Therefore, the plan indirectly noted the reform of the rental law and the linking of reimbursements to their own inflation indicator, rather than to the general inflation rate.

3) The plan considered as well the investment of long-term funds in housing by both the public sector (the state and the insurance fund) and the private sector (1.5 percent of bank deposits for a period of 6 years, or an increase in the bank reserves held by the Bank of Lebanon by the same amount, in addition to an increase in the employers' contributions to service-termination compensation).

4) The plan foresees attracting funds from the masses through housing savings and bonds. In addition, one lottery per year will be held for the housing projects. Of course, the plan considers housing savings to be one of the main sources of funding.

5) New taxes and fees are to be levied in addition to reconstruction taxes and other taxes imposed following the 1965 earthquake.

Moreover, funds will be set aside each year for housing projects as part of the budget. For this purpose, the state will borrow 300 million Lebanese lira.

The important thing about the plan is that the Ministry of Housing will be in control from the beginning to the end, starting with a comprehensive survey of the housing situation and the setting aside of real estate and areas on which buildings will be erected, and ending with the creation of the housing cooperatives, their provision with loans, and the supervision of their activities.

On the other hand, private sector participation in the plan will be essential. It is expected that the banks alone will finance the housing projects to the tune of 500 million Lebanese lira during the next 6 years.

In addition, the state's failure to pass a rent bill which will encourage investors to set up rental buildings means that the plan will be "lame," since it has been decided that the rental sector will play a vital role in providing dwellings.

Therefore, observers have placed special emphasis on two points: the extent to which the private sector goes along with the plan, and the reactions to the government's bill to reform the rent law, which it sent in all haste to the chamber of deputies.

The heads of the economic associations evinced immediate agreement with the plan as soon as it was presented to them. However, the bank association busied itself with making precise comments supported by hard figures, since the association is directly affected by the plan, which calls on it to invest funds, either by participating in the housing projects or by building dwellings for their employees.

One of the banks' observations deals with the difference between the market interest rate and the interest rate on housing loans. It is well known that the plan prescribes low interest rates for those with limited incomes and moderate rates for those with middle-range incomes. Both of these interest rates are far lower than the interest rate level applying to loans in the market. The bankers asked: Will the state bear the difference between the two rates? They know that the plan has set the figure of 1.5 percent from the banks, in the form of "compulsory reserves." The clause having to do with this subject says that the banks must either contribute 1.5 percent of their deposits to the housing projects or increase the compulsory reserves they have at the Bank of Lebanon by the same amount, so that the latter can "funnel" these funds to the various housing agencies.

Bank association officials say that what is being asked of the banks requires that the law on money and loans be amended, especially the sections concerning loan repayment periods and the construction of housing projects by the banks, since the law does not allow them to undertake anything but banking activities. However, the association's leaders do think it is realistic to focus on the private sector insofar as financing and execution are concerned. If the housing projects were to be executed by the bureaucracy, they would inevitably fail for well known reasons, the most important of which is routine.

The economic associations and the bank association agreed that more time was needed to study the project, especially the requirement that employers invest part of their profits in housing projects and the provision that their contribution to end-of-service compensation be increased, at a time when the economic situation is suffering a serious depression. However, the departments nevertheless agreed that the execution of a project of this size would help get the economy moving.

The General Federation of Workers supported the housing plan, but criticized the state's weak role in executing it. The president of the federation, Mr Antoine Bishara, demanded a bigger role for the state in implementing the plan, in addition to the provision of basic services, with the most important of them being the linking of the various regions by a joint transportation system, since the difficulty encountered in transportation and the primitive nature of the means of transportation are considered to be some of the most important causes of the concentration of the population in the cities.

Therefore, Bishara demanded that a real estate improvement tax be imposed, the proceeds from which would be used for housing projects, in addition to the fixing of housing loan maturities at 25 to 30 years, with an interest rate not to exceed 5 percent.

Al-Bizri: Land First

Engineer Amin al-Bizri, a former minister, demanded that the state play a useful role in insuring the availability of land at low prices, since land is the basic factor behind the increase in housing costs. In addition, he demanded that the state insure the foundations and reform the investment factor. He also suggested that housing companies be set up which would take over the execution of the housing projects in a cooperative spirit.

Sasin: Gradual Reform

The chairman of the board of the Housing Bank, Joseph Sasin, did a study which included some important points the most prominent of which are:

--An organic equation must be formulated which will relate the financial resources of the people looking for housing and the maximum area of the individual dwelling. Dwellings built for low-income people ought to be of limited area. Engineer Sasin thinks it would be a mistake to force high-cost dwellings on low-income persons, for such would be more than they need.

--The rent law ought to be reformed gradually, so as to create a balance between supply and demand, in light of the fact that successive rent laws destroyed the incentives to build rental buildings.

--To save housing costs, a policy of building housing complexes ought to be followed. Housing policy ought not be limited to merely providing loans.

--Financing options ought to be more realistic, and state support for housing ought to go only to low-income people.

--It is necessary to draw up a five-year plan for housing, to be accompanied by yearly spending programs to finance the purchase by the state of lots for limited, suitable dwellings appropriate for various income levels. These dwellings are to be distributed in a balanced fashion to the people of the regions.

-The state should encourage developers to increase investment.

He mentions that the housing plan did not deal with the subject of incorporating the housing bank into the independent fund, though this project has been suggested many times.

The Associations and Rufayil's Law

As for reforming the rent law, the associations thought that the bill suggested by the former minister, Farid Rufayil, which was drawn up in 1978, is the best one which deals with this matter and provides the greatest amount of justice to all parties. They think it ought to be revived, since it is better suited to execution of the task at hand than the bill sent to the chamber of deputies. They think as well that renting remains the basic factor in solving the housing crisis.

As for the General Federation of Workers, it has not opposed the rent law reform on principle, but it prefers to see discussion of the matter postponed until the housing plan has been properly and continuously applied for five years. The federation has suggested that reimbursements be linked to the general inflation indicator, and that the method of compensating for eviction be left unchanged.

Up until now, the reactions of many segments of society to the rent law bill which has been sent to the chamber of deputies have been negative, because the bill would lower eviction compensation by a large amount without any justification. It seems that a broad section of public opinion rejects the bill. This is what pushed Michel al-Murr, a former minister, to demand that discussion of the bill be postponed until the housing plan is applied, while pointing out that all the housing plan asks for on the level of rents is that they be tied to a special indicator.

The question is, can the plan run with only one leg?

12224

CSO: 4404/522

JABLAH TEXTILE COMPANY IN DEBT

Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 10 Aug 83 p 7

[Article by 'Abd al-Karim Shahin: "Errors and Problems in the Jablah Textile Company"]

[Excerpts] We make mistakes during the implementation of some large development projects, a problem that should be temporary. This is not a fault, especially since there are many outside and internal factors constantly attempting to block our sincere efforts to raise our country's economic and social level.

We find it difficult to implement our development projects, and the result is inevitable mistakes, but the biggest error is that we continue to do this. We delay correcting them, the problem magnifies, and the solution becomes enormously costly. This is what happened regarding the Jablah Textile Company. What was the error and what were its causes?

Numerous Errors

The technicians and administrative officers in the company agree that the first mistake made by the quarters concerned with creating the company was the lack of choosing an appropriate site, when it was decided to implement the project. The principal material--cotton--grows far from the Jablah area. Climate factors in the coastal area are unsuitable for the establishment of this industry due to the high percentage of humidity. These two factors played, and will continue to play a major role in the increased costs of the manufactured material.

The Financial Office

The actions of this office were incomplete because, since 1980, the budgets were not derived from the company records. The cause of that was the long time absence of an independent financial director, and now the firm has no financial director. In addition to that, the company announced a shortfall in its cash flow, since according to the company's director general, "We tried last May with the Latakia Textile Company, the al-Sharq Clothing Company in Damascus and the Textile and Dyeworks in Homs to get money to give to the workers in the company for their salaries and to pay the loans which the company obtained from the Industrial Bank in Latakia."

The Production Office

The sum of the activities with which the commercial directorate is concerned confirms that it was involved in many of the commercial mistakes that put the company in difficulties. It is not easy to summarize their material results.

For example, this office was tolerant with regard to sales with checks on insufficient funds to private sector merchants, which resulted in the company losing 1.2 million Syrian pounds. Apparently, the move to follow up on the debts to private sector merchants was so slow that the company's debts to them amounted to 7.5 million Syrian pounds. Moreover, the company's debts to public sector firms totaled 16.9 million pounds. All of these debts are due.

In addition to that, the sales of finished products was sluggish. This resulted in an accumulation of inventory, especially of numbers 1-16 and 1-20. The value of the accumulated inventory has reached 24 million pounds. Undoubtedly, the situation had very negative effects on production in the company.

The most important matter from which the production directorate suffered was a loss of true control over production, raw materials, machinery and workers, and a lack of defining responsibilities in the production hall. This was one of the main reasons for the deterioration of production in the company. One also noted in this directorate a lack of concern for cleanliness, since filth was strewn about in every corner of the hall, in addition to an increase in waste--cotton remnants, old bits, and poorly spun yarn, beyond recognized industrial standards. This resulted in material losses, resulting from the costs of redoing poorly manufactured items.

Technical Directorate

This directorate suffered from the following difficulties:

1. The procedure followed in the maintenance of machinery was limited to unscheduled shutdowns and not within any program defined in accordance with technical rules. This usually leads to production faults and bottlenecks in the operations, and to an increase in the rate of spare parts consumption. It was noted that there are defects in most operation lines from the pumping stage to the spinners, as a result of no general maintenance program in the hall.
2. The machinery in the spinning department has badly deteriorated to the point of being inoperable, because the necessary spare parts for this department are difficult to obtain because they are only available in the (Lizuna) Company, which is the sole manufacturer of these parts. This firm refuses to supply us with the parts we require.

3. The technical expertise in electrical matters is very weak in our company, or rather, it is almost non-existent. The technical personnel in this department can only gain their experience through work in public sector companies and during the installation of company machinery.
4. The boilers operate during the winter, and it was observed that they are unserviceable due to neglected maintenance. This has resulted in the outer plates becoming rusted, as a result of water leaking from some of the (pipes).
5. The machinery in all sections of the company suffer from idleness and neglect. Most of the time, they are out of service.

With the Director of the State Textile Organization

Dr Fawwaz al-Laham, the director of the State Textile Organization, said that there was "no doubt that the company's position was very bad. However, if we were to look for the reasons for this deterioration, we would find that man is the basic cause. The directors of this company have come and gone to such an extent that four directors were changed in just 1 year. This is completely unacceptable, especially since it was still in the infancy of its operations. This has undoubtedly led to the company's instability in all aspects. Moreover, the poor air conditioning and the shortfall of spare parts have been influential in the deterioration of production. We are now in the process of solving the air conditioning and ventilation problem, since we have contracted with a French firm to solve these problems. Agreement was reached with them on all matters, after an on-the-spot study of the company's situation. All that remains is to open the letters of credit, and we expect the air conditioning problem to be solved by the end of 1984 at the latest.

"I reiterate that the important point is that man is the root of the problem. If the technicians and bureaucrats had previously protested the things that were mentioned, there would be no connection between the spare parts and sluggish inventories and accumulated company debts to the public and private sectors!"

A Final Word

Who is responsible for the company's position deteriorating? The company's management and workers or the mistakes made since the beginning? A number of factors came together and led to this situation. Many are responsible for what has happened and will happen in the future. Where is the accountability? Why haven't all those who neglected their jobs and duties been punished?

We emphasize that the lack of accountability of those slackers in the company and those who acceded to the perpetration of these errors will not change the situation in the company, but will only make it worse.

The textile industry in our country has become one of the important industries in our economic lives, since there are about 25 textile firms here. Why don't we establish a factory to manufacture spare parts?

7005

CSO: 4404/590

TEXTILE MILLS FULFILL 81 PERCENT OF QUOTAS

Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 13 Aug 83 p 5

[Article: "Bonuses For Five Production Companies That Achieved 79 Percent of Their Quotas"]

[Text] Last week, a number of special periodic meetings were held by the organizations and companies of the public industrial sector in our country, under the chairmanship of Mahmud Qadur, the minister of industry.

During those meetings, an evaluation was made of the quotas accomplished by these companies during the second quarter of 1983, compared with what was achieved during the first quarter and then the total quota achievement was evaluated for the first half of this year.

A meeting was held for the organization and companies of the chemical industries, which include the glass, fertilizer, leather, tanning, shoes, cleaners, plastic, rubber, paint and paper industries.

It was clear from a comparison of what was achieved during the first quarter of this year, with respect to these industries, that there was a substantial improvement in production during the second quarter, since achievement of quotas amounted to 75 percent, with the exception of the paper and light bulb factories.

As regards the meeting of the organization and companies of the textile industry, it was clear that implementation of quotas amounted to 81 percent, despite the difficulties existing in regard to implementing the investment plans and the plan to replace the machinery.

The minister of industry called on those responsible for the organizations and companies to make efforts to increase production, so that it would be not less than 85 percent of maximum available capacity. He said that there should be concern for quality of production and disposal of inventories, and that there was a need to submit initiatives to improve quality, produce new goods or develop existing ones, to decrease waste and open new areas of export.

It was decided to grant incentive financial bonuses, valued at 5,000 Syrian pounds each, to five director generals of companies that achieved more than 79 percent of their production quotas.

These companies are:

1. The Arab Medical Company, (Temico)
2. The Arab Paint Company, Damascus
3. The Chemical Cleaners Company, Damascus
4. The Aleppo Rubber Company
5. The Aleppo Plastics Company

With regard to the textile firms, it is well known that there are about 24 companies in the country, in which some 30,000 workers are employed. They require about 45,000 workers to operate a maximum capacity. The textile sectors are considered some of the important sectors in the country; most of their products are export-d to Arab countries, Western and Eastern European countries, in addition to supplying the domestic fabric and clothing requirements.

7005

CSO: 4404/590

AL-JABISAH OIL FIELD MEETS PRODUCTION GOALS

Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 13 Aug 83 p 5

[Article by Yunis Khalaf: "Our Workers in the Al-Jabisah Fields Fulfill Their Production and Drilling Goals by 103 Percent"]

[Text] When our glorious party, the Arab Sociality ba'th Party, raised the slogan of oil production nationally, the importance of implementing this slogan was completely understood, because of the important profits and great gains to be derived from it in building a firm economic base for the Arab Nation.

Al-Jabisah Fields

In the al-Jabisah fields, the second largest labor complex in the country, we met with a number of comrades in the branch leadership and with brother workers, to shed some light on the workers' situation and the operations.

Comrade Ahmad al-Halwa, the deputy secretary of the party's al-Jabisah branch, said:

At the outset I would like to say that the party was able to analyze the Arab economic reality at a time when imperialism was constantly endeavoring to exploit the riches of our Nation. The party of the Arab masses made it clear that political liberation would lose its significance unless it was tied to economic liberation.

Accordingly, it is clear to all of us the important role that oil plays in our conflict with imperialist and Zionist forces who are attempting to subject us to domination and to exploit this Nation's capabilities.

[Question] What is your role in this field?

[Answer] In this regard, we embody the slogan of utilization of oil nationally. We consider that one of the party's tasks. Therefore, we must support, develop and protect this industry, since the Syrian Oil Company is exploring for oil and exploiting it in several locations. About 2600 workers are employed in this directorate, divided amongst the technical, production and administrative sectors.

Expertise and Consciousness

All quotas have been achieved, whether in drilling or in oil production, by 103 percent, and the reasons for the increase in production are as follows:

- * A rise in technical standards and national expertise and an understanding of national responsibilities.
- * The role of production incentives which encourage the workers to achieve the highest percentage of production.

Services For the Workers

As regards services, housing is provided to some of the workers in the directorate. A rather considerable group remains without housing, which is a psychologically unsettling element and which reflects negatively on production. We see the necessity of giving workers' housing a greater importance and priority to solve this problem. As for what has been done, there are about 300 housing units, and the cornerstone has been laid for 700 more units.

Social services provided by the company in these housing areas include a day nursery and a nursery school for the children of the workers and a workers' pharmacy with reduced prices, as well as postal services. The workers are transported at the organization's expense, in addition to being given free food and clothing.

The workers are treated for all types of illness at the organization's total expense, in addition to 50 percent of the cost of treatment being paid by the Social Assistance Fund.

7005

CSO: 4404/590

BRIEFS

NUMBER OF IRANIAN VISITORS--The number of visiting Iranians sent to Qatar in accordance with the agreement ratified with the Islamic Republic of Iran has reached 2.3 million up to the first half of last month, averaging 1,000 visitors weekly. The contract contains the complete provision of services from housing to board, transport, medical treatment, and other services. This is what Mr Hasan 'Abd al-Rahman, director of the Karnak Company, announced to the al-Thawrah. He added that the two companies Karnak and the Syrian Company for Tourism Transport and Marketing had placed 26 pullman tourist buses at the disposal of the visitors to take them to sites and ruins in Qatar. Also the following hotels were rented to assure housing for the visitors: Semiramis, Phoenecia Gardens, al-Sharq, and the Qatan Hotel. The director added that the Iranian Government had requested an increase in the weekly number of visitors to 2,000 rather than 1,000. That has been agreed to and the contract will be signed soon. /Text/ /Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 4 Aug 83 p 5/ 12390

IDLIB TEXTILE MILL PRODUCTION--Production at the Idlib textile mill reached 3,250 tons of yarn by the end of last month. The entire lot has been sold for 45 million Syrian Lira, stated the business manager of the mill to a delegation from AL-THAWRAH. He added that 1,129 tons of thread was exported to foreign destinations. Also the company ratified foreign export contracts for 1,700 tons of first class spools of yarn. They are valued at \$4,056,000. It is noteworthy that production at the Idlib Textile Mill has acquired the interest of the world market and increased acceptance of the purchase of Syrian yarns which enjoy high standards. AL-THAWRAH learned in Idlib that the textile mill had done a study to define the cost of production while maintaining quality. /Text/ /Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 5 Aug 83 p 4/ 12390

SALES REACH 276 MILLION POUNDS--Establishments and companies of the industrial public sector are preoccupied with the meetings directed by Mr Mahmud Qadur, minister of industry, which have the goal of evaluating production, investment, and marketing plans for the second quarter of this year and the first half of the year in general. Yesterday, the minister headed a special meeting with the Public Establishment and the companies in the food industry which include about 21 companies in the area of canning production in all its different forms as well as producers of milk products, biscuits, chocolate, oil, grapes, macaroni, beer, and peanuts. The following persons attended the meeting: Doctor 'Abdallah Saluta, assistant minister of industry, Engineer Qasam Miala, director general of the Public Establishment for Food Industries, Engineer Mustafa Jamus,

economic consultant for the Ministry of Industry, general directors of companies in food industries, the director of planning, section directors in the ministry, and branch directors of institutions and companies. SANA says that during the above-mentioned meetings the conferees reviewed the introduction from the Establishment concerning the implemented percentages of the marketing and production plan and of exports and also of worker programs. The percentage of implementation has reached 94 percent for companies while 10 of them reached the implementation average of 100 percent and more in regards to providing basic commodities and in regards to the great demand for their products. The companies are General Canning, Damascus Milk, Homs Milk, Syrian Biscuits, Suwayda' Grapes, Homs Grapes, Damascus Oil, Damascus Grapes, Halab Oil, and Damascus Foods. The total sales realized for all companies participating in the Establishment reached 276 Syrian pounds at fixed prices during the first half of the year. The minister of industry assured the directors of these companies of the redoubling of efforts to increase production and to expand the prospecting for export markets in order to support the national economy and to eliminate supplies and reduce waste. He praised the companies which have achieved the percentages determined in the plan and he promised to reward whoever achieved that. [Text] [Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 9 Aug 83 p 4] 12390

AGRICULTURAL BANK STORAGE DEPOTS--The Agricultural Cooperative Bank in Homs has begun to implement a project to build storage depots especially for the bank on the Tripoli Road on 2000 square meters of land, at a cost of 4 million Syrian pounds. These depots are large enough to store 20,000 tons of fertilizer, pesticides and other material pertaining to the agricultural sector. It was learned that the railroad will build a new line especially for this project, to enable materials to be shipped to and from the factories. The Agricultural Bank will continue to ship fertilizer company products and distribute them to Agricultural Bank branches in the various provinces. Quantities delivered to the Bank from the company, up to the end of this July have totaled 200,000 tons. It is expected that another 200,000 tons of various types of fertilizers will be shipped to fulfill the needs of the summer and winter agricultural seasons. [Text] [Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 14 Aug 83 p 4] 7005

CSO: 4404/590

REFUGEES WORRIED ABOUT UNREST IN PAKISTAN

Colombo DAILY MIRROR in English 9 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Tom Heneghan]

[Text] PESHAWAR, PAKISTAN, Thursday--AFGHAN refugees who came to Pakistan in waves after the Soviet invasion of their homeland are now apprehensive about political unrest in their host country, according to refugee spokesmen here.

Most of the three million refugees camped along the Afghan-Pakistani border near hear know or care little about the opposition campaign for free elections and parliamentary democracy, the spokesmen told Reuters.

But they understand very well that the discontent is aimed at President Mohammad Zia-Ul-Haq, Pakistan's staunchly anti-communist and Islamic leader who has proven one of their best supporters.

The spokesmen said Afghans here fear worst if Zia is forced to give in to the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), an alliance of moderate and left-wing parties which launched its civil disobedience drive against martial law in mid-August.

The spokesmen, anxious to avoid offending the country which has given them most support declined to be named.

"This unrest is very bad for us", said one Afghan close to the Moslem fundamentalist guerrillas fighting the Soviet-backed Government in Kabul. "We are happy with Zia and we will be worried if there is any change"

Added a western-educated intellectual: "It goes against my own beliefs to say this," he confessed, "but I think any General is better than the chaos the civilian politicians would bring."

Although Afghans and Pakistanis here agreed the MRD posed no immediate threat to Zia's six-year military rule, they differed widely about the long-term prospects and implications of the unrest.

MRD sources defended the campaign as a peaceful drive to end martial law and bring back an elected Parliament and said they hoped it would succeed.

The violence in the Southern Province of Sind, where between 30 and 50 people are reported to have been killed in clashes between Police and demonstrators, were the said but inevitable result of the rgime's repression, they said.

The Afghans, who lost everything fleeing from the Babrak Karmal Government intalled after the 1979 Soviet invasion, take a less trusting view.

The spokesman said many refugees believed Kabul and the Kremlin were funding the Opposition to weaken Pakistan's shaky state structure and let neighbouring Afghanistan and India Press Islamabad toward a less pro-American line.

Their suspicions were further aroused last week when Radio Kabul announced that tens of thousands of people marched in the Afghan capital on August 29 in support of Pakistan fighting for freedom and democracy.

Another intellectual said Afghan did not understand how Pakisanis could support a movement that threatened the strong pro-American regime, wedged between Soviet-occupied Afghanistan and India which has friendly links to Moscow.

"This is divisive, it weakens the country at a time when the national interest demands unity," he said.

"The only real chance for civilian rule--the Bhutto years--was destroyed by Bhutto himself," he said, referring to former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, an autocratic left-wing landowner who ruled 1971 until Zia's 1977 coup. He was later hanged.

"The army will rule here for some time to come," he said, adding "that is good for us because they understand how important Afghanistan is."

Opposition politician here are wary of the refugees--one half-jokingly called the heavily-armed exiles "Zia's bodyguards"--but are at least partly responsible for the mistrust.

CSO: 4600/918

ARTICLE COMMENTS ON END OF 'BEGINISM'

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 14 Sep 83 p 1

[Article by Ali Zulfiqari: "The Approaching End of Beginism"]

[Text] THE inevitable has begun to unfold in Lebanon. The so-called multinational "peace" forces today find themselves engaged in a battle against the Lebanese people and locked in an escalating confrontation which will involve more and more of the Lebanese masses and greater involvement of the "peace" militia to carry on the "peace" mission of the pro-Zionist Western imperialist forces in that unfortunate country.

The Western powers led by the U.S. moved in their "peace" forces in the wake of the Zionist aggression to supervise the consolidation of the puppet Phalangist regime of Amin Gemayel. Their entry into Lebanon was planned to achieve a "peace" and "stability" that would satisfy Israel as the fruit of its misadventure into Lebanon and console U.S. strategists as a positive gain in the favour of the U.S. and Western powers.

The Zionists and the U.S. strategists forgot that imposition of puppet governments is an outdated maneuver that cannot work any longer in the context of the rising level of consciousness and awareness of the Moslem masses throughout the Middle East. The Middle East is no longer the region it was a decade ago and Washington's puppets in the region are outmoded effigies fit only to be buried by the side of the ex-Shah and Anwar Sadat. When "peace" means guaranteeing the stability of a puppet regime installed by the Zionists and the Americans, the future role and fate of the multinational force in Lebanon and the duty of the Lebanese masses in regard to such a force and regime are evident.

The Zionist aggression and its aftermath have left the Phalangists irrevocably on the side of the Zionists and their Western masters. The blackened record of the Phalangists is enough to deprive them of any political role whatsoever in a free and independent Lebanon. The Phalangists have discredited themselves beyond repair in the eyes of the Lebanese people. They have tied their fate irrevocably to that of the Zionist-imperialist strategy in Lebanon. Their treason against their own country and their ambition to play henchmen for the Zionist and imperialist interests have landed them facing a black horizon in their own country.

However, from the point of view of the Lebanese people, the future is clear and promising. They have realized that they have no alternative but to fight the imperialist-Zionist forces until complete liberation of their land from aggressors. The Zionist aggression triggered a process of purification of the Lebanese political ethos and a process of steady transformation of their struggle from a nationalist-secular framework into a purely Islamic struggle. They know that the expulsion of the Zionists, pulling down of the puppet regime and ouster of the imperialist allies of Amin Gemayel are part and parcel of the same struggle.

If they keep on and heighten their struggle against aggressors and their mercenaries, there is no doubt that Shimir, Reagan and Mitterrand will be knocked out in the same way as Begin from their political careers. The struggle of the Lebanese people is the only force that can bring Zionism and Beginism to the ignominious end it deserves.

CSO: 4600/921

TUFAIL PLEADS FOR GOVERNMENT-POLITICIANS UNDERSTANDING

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Sep 83 p 14

[Text]

LAHORE, Sept 15: Mian Tufail Muhammad, chief of the defunct Jamaat-i-Islami, has said the lack of confidence between the Government and politicians is "the main hurdle" in the way of holding the general elections. The need of the hour is to bring both of them on the table to end the same in the larger national interests.

This was stated by him while addressing a function arranged by a group of local journalists here on Wednesday at Hotel Hilton.

The holding of Provincial and National Assemblies elections just after the local bodies' election and transfer of power to elected representatives is the only way to pull the country out from the existing turmoil, he asserted.

He charged that criminals who got released from Dadu and Gambat lock-ups were involved in looting of banks, killing and destructive activities in particular areas of Sind. They were threatening the lives and property of peace-loving people if they refused to fly People's Party flags, he added.

Mian Tufail Mohammad doubted if such elements behind the "destructive movement of the MRD" would restore democracy in the country. The movement launched by the MRD actually was for the defunct PPP, and if the defunct PPP came to power it would send all leaders of MRD component parties to Dulai Camp, he observed.

He said the 1973 Constitution was not sacred but the JI was supporting the same because the matter of provincial autonomy was

"settled once for all through the same." The integrity and solidarity of the country would be harmed if the Constitution was abrogated, he warned.

Answering a question, the Jamaat leader regretted that newspapers were publishing the news of "miscreants" prominently.

Mian Tufail Mohammad said that as there was a ban on political activities his party would not launch any movement. However, he said his party wanted the restoration of democracy, revival of political activities and holding of the general election.

He said his party did not consider itself to be "elected with majority," it would rather take "15 to 20 years to come in power." The Jamaat wanted to reform society on Islamic lines and for that reason it wanted to "sit on opposition benches to build its pressure on the elected Government of future to get the present society transformed into an Islamic one".

Replying to a question, Mian Tufail said the prevailing frustration would end through a process of holding elections and nothing else.

Replying to another question, he said districts would have to be made into provinces like in Afghanistan and Turkey "to eliminate all prejudices of provincialism and nationalities". However, this task should be left for the elected representatives, he advised.

Mian Tufail considered no need for any new land reforms but at the same time urged the Government to implement the land reforms undertaken during the previous regime.

INDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S REMARKS SEEN THREATENING SECOND DISMEMBERMENT

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 27 Aug 83 p 3

/Editorial: "India--Another Incidence of 'Conquer Pakistan'?"

/Text/ The Indian Foreign Minister Mr Narasimha Rao has said, "We are watching the course being taken by the circumstances in Pakistan. The conditions there, especially the circumstances in Sind, are a source of concern and anxiety for us, and we are also extremely worried about them. Nevertheless, India does not at all intend to interfere in Pakistan's affairs." He said this in the Indian parliament while participating in a discussion in which throughout the day the members expressed their views on internal conditions in Pakistan. During the course of the discussion, several members even strongly demanded that their government immediately interfere in Sind and take advantage of the situation there.

The only meaning of demanding or advising to "take advantage of the circumstances" there could be that just as during the 1970-71 disruption India launched military intervention in East Pakistan and divided Pakistan into two parts, similarly taking advantage of the disturbances in a part of Pakistan now a series of conspiracies and aggression should be launched. During this discussion allegations were also levied that due to the police and military activities in Sind, a large number of Hindus /from Pakistan/ had started arriving at India's border region of Kutch. Although the Indian home minister stated that so far the Indian Government had received no such information, the manner in which this was said indirectly implied, rather one can say it gave the indication, that if some Hindus from Sind were to enter India, the Indian Government's intervention could be justifiable.

This discussion can also be called an effort to influence the conditions in Pakistan and thus interfere in them. The allegations of the migration of the Hindus, the demands for action against Pakistan and the proposals to take advantage of the situation, all clearly show the manner in which the Indian mind thinks as soon as any unfavorable conditions surface in Pakistan. An expression to this typical Indian mentality was also given by an extremist Jan Sanghi leader, Balraj Madhok, who just the other day spewed out the poison that Lahore should be made a part of India because it was in the east of the Ravi River, the natural boundary of India. Moreover, in order to provoke the Sikhs he proposed to them that they should not be content only with additional facilities

granted to them for pilgrimage to their holy places in Pakistan, they should demand that Nankana Sahib be granted the status of a semi-autonomous, self-governing entity like the Vatican City.

The manner of discussion in the Indian parliament on the conditions in Pakistan and the slyness of the Jan Sangh to turn the disgruntled Sikhs' demand for independence in an anti-Pakistan direction clearly indicate what India's aims and intentions are regarding Pakistan. After the Soviet Union's military occupation of Afghanistan, the independence and integrity of Pakistan demand above all an internal unity that can be seen by our foreign enemies also. Any type of indiscretion, deficiency or imprudence in this matter would become a source of encouragement for the enemies. While the rulers should, with full realism, keep in mind the effort that is required to win the hearts of the people, the matter should also be a cause of concern for those political leaders who have joined the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] but whose hearts are also full of love for their country. They should be concerned as to what advantage the enemies of Pakistan's freedom and integrity and its Islamic identity wish to take from the shadows of disorder, lawlessness and violence cast over the so-called movement for the restoration of democracy initiated by them. The political leaders outside the MRD and those favoring democracy should also open their eyes; they are so much fascinated and awe-struck by only this aspect of their demand, i.e., restoring democracy in the country, that they deem it advisable to overlook the open lawlessness the doors of which this movement has opened in some parts of Sind.

The effort to establish good neighborly relations with India has a place of its own, but as long as elements like Mrs Gandhi and Balraj Madhok exist there, even maintaining any favorable view about India is the worst type of self-deception. The allegations made in the Indian parliament with reference to the Hindus of Sind, and the types of demands and proposals made on that basis, should be seriously noted by the Pakistani authorities. They should note that under such circumstances there is no justification for maintaining "silence as the best policy" with regard to the miserable condition of the aggrieved and oppressed Muslims of India, and for looking up to India by joining together with Sri Lanka, Sikkim, Bhutan and Bangladesh. I should also be realized from this discussion in the Indian parliament that the chain of Indian conspiracy and aggression against Pakistan has not ended with turning East Pakistan into Bangladesh. That was the first stage, and India is not only awaiting the second stage, but it is also endeavoring for it.

9779

CSO: 4656/248

REPORT SAYS PAKISTAN TO MAINTAIN GROWTH RATE

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Sep 83 p 6

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Sept 15: Pakistan's real Gross Domestic Product is projected to grow at about 6.2 per cent in fiscal year 1983, equalling the mark achieved in the previous year, despite severe adverse circumstances and especially the world recession, says the World Bank Annual Report released today.

In contrast, both balance of payments and budgetary positions have deteriorated, largely as a result of the slowdown in the world economy and falling commodity prices. Mainly as the result of the depressed state of world rice and cotton markets, exports have been sharply lower in the past two years.

Pakistan's balance of payments situation, as fiscal year 1983 draws to a close, remained manageable, however. Contributory factors were improvements in world trade and commodity prices late in the year, the favourable effect on migrant remittances and a number of minor exports of adjustments in the value of rupees, and the continued flow of resources from the IMF's extended fund and compensatory financing facilities.

Despite the 17 per cent increase in its external indebtedness since 1978, debt servicing is not as pressing a problem for Pakistan as it is for some other developing countries. In fiscal year 1982,

Pakistan's public and publicly held guaranteed external debt amounted to only 25 per cent of GNP and debt service was only 13.6 per cent of the exports of goods and services.

Supported by an Extended Fund Facility (EFF) arrangements and a structural adjustment credit from IDA, tighter demand-management and supply side measures have been adopted to promote structural adjustment and to increase efficiency and production in those key sectors that can contribute to better balance of payments' performance.

In agriculture, producer prices have been raised to bring them more in line with international prices. Subsidies on fertilisers have been reduced, while efforts have been made to increase the supply of inputs and availability of credits. Investment is being increasingly directed towards rehabilitation of irrigation system.

In the field of energy, the Government initiatives include strengthening of energy planning, encouragement of private sector participation in energy development (through increases in producers for oil and gas prices to encourage increased exploration and development), and increase in consumer prices of oil and gas to encourage conservation.

CSO: 4600/914

BAN ON HOLDING MEETINGS IN KARACHI

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Sep 83 p 16

[Text]

The District Magistrate (Karachi South) has under Section 144 Cr. P.C. prohibited assembly or meeting of five or more persons in a public place for any purpose, raising slogans, carrying of playcards except such religious congregation in mosques and Imambargahs, which have been permitted in written by the District Magistrate, says an official handout.

The order to this effect has been issued in view of apprehension of lawlessness and breach of peace as a result of tension and hostility between groups of people, besides taking immediate measures to prevent likely disturbances and danger to human lives and property.

The order also prohibits from joining, forming or taking part in any procession or demonstration (except wedding and funeral processions) and carrying of weapons of any kind in public places such as fire arms, knives, swords, spears, cudgels, hatchets, stones and all other weapons falling within the meaning of arms and all other implements which when used as weapons of offence, are likely to cause hurt or which are likely to be used for the purpose of committing disturbance to public peace or creating a riot or affray.

This order shall not apply to civilian on duty, police and military persons.

The order shall come into force with immediate effect and shall remain in force for a period of one month.

CSO: 4600/914

LAWYERS' CONVENTION PLANNED FOR 6 OCTOBER

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Sep 83 p 20

[Text]

LAHORE, Sept 15: The Lahore High Court Bar Association today unanimously passed a resolution to hold a national convention on Oct 6 in the High Court premises.

The resolution was moved by the President of the Bar, Syed Afzal Haider.

A Press statement of the Bar said the Association had been constantly struggling for restoration of the 1973 Constitution, end of martial law, holding of the general election and peaceful transfer of power.

According to our Hyderabad Correspondent, the lawyers of Dadu staged a peaceful demonstration in the Sessions Court premises against the recent firing of law-enforcing agency at Khairpur Nathan Shah, and also offered 'Ghaibana Namaz-i-Janaza' for those killed as a result of the firing.

At Badin the police arrested seven persons for taking out an illegal procession and allegedly causing injuries to one Sub-Inspector of police.

Our staff reporter adds: Eighty members of the Sind Bar Association and Karachi Bar Association have protested against alleged heavy punishment awarded to lawyers for courting arrest in support of the MRD movement.

In a signed statement Thursday, they maintained that Advocate Siddiq Kharal had been ordered to be flogged and senior Advocate Ali Mukhtar Naqvi had been placed

under detention. Besides, Advocates Abdul Malik, N.D. Khan, Anwar Abbas Naqvi, Abdullah Baluch, Hasan Firoz, Chaudhri Arshad and Mr. Naseem Haider, Vice-President, Karachi Bar Association, had been treated shabbily at the time of arrest or during detention, they added.

The Managing Committee of the Karachi Bar Association, at a meeting expressed its "deep anguish" at the killing of the people in Sind, caused by firing, "without the compliance of the legal requisites."

Another resolution said the treatment meted out to detenus in jails was in clear violation of the Jail Manual. The committee regretted that lawyers, without any regard to their age and status, were locked up with ordinary criminals and some of them were even kept in prisoners' cells. Mr. Awan, President of the Larkana Bar Association, who is lame and aged over 60 years, was also not spared "such humiliation", it added.

Our Peshawar correspondent says the Peshawar High Court Bar and district Bar Association have demanded immediate Government measures to avert danger to the unity and integrity of the country.

In a resolution passed at a joint meeting of the two bodies, held in Peshawar on Thursday, they expressed concern over the prevailing grave political situation in the country.

CSO: 4600/914

AVIATION SECTOR PROGRESS REPORTED

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Sep 83 p 17

[Text]

The Civil Aviation Authority has overcome critical deficiencies in the aviation sector in the first phase of its three-phased development plan, the Director-General, CAA, Air Vice Marshal Khurshid Anwer Mirza, told a radio news conference yesterday.

He said that under the second phase, which would continue from September 1983 to March 1984, preliminaries would be finalised for the construction of three new modern terminals at Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. Work on these terminals would start in the third phase beginning in March 1984, and would cost Rs 400 crore.

The new terminals would be complete in every respect, meeting all international requirements of modern passengers he added.

He said it had been decided to shift the new terminal at Islamabad Airport to some other site.

He said the CAA had approached the Government to give a grant of Rs 100 crore for its Rs 600 crore

development plan which includes its Rs 100 crore current budget. He said the CAA would generate the remaining Rs 500 crore from its own resources.

He said that CAA was reviewing its various charges which were much lower than those in other countries.

He expressed the hope that CAA's income would go up from an estimated Rs 41 crore this year to Rs 50 crore during the next five years.

The CAA Director-General said that after the construction of a new terminal at Karachi Airport the existing terminals would be used for other activities.

So far, the Authority was giving priority to the improvement of existing airports and installation of navigational aids. Emphasis on other aspects of aircraft safety would be laid in the second phase of the CAA's development plan, he added.

CSO: 4600/914

BRIEFS

PUNJAB ELECTION ENTHUSIASM--LAHORE, Sept 15--Unprecedented enthusiasm, excitement and involvement is visible in the people of Punjab in local bodies polls--107,000 candidates contesting for 34,510 seats of District Councils, Municipal Corporations, Municipal and Town Committees and Union Councils. An average of six candidates per seat are contesting for councillorship of Municipal Corporations, Municipal and Town Committees and District Councils, while three candidates per seat are contesting in Union Councils. A total of 1,38,000 candidates had filed their nomination papers out of which papers of 3,000 were rejected and 2800 candidates withdrew their nominations. This enthusiasm has frustrated the evil designs of the so-called MRD which had made a call for boycotting the polls. People have termed the MRD as "movement for reversal of democracy". This is also depictive of the confidence which people have posed in the elected local councillors due to their performance during the last four years. In the development side as well as in the grassroot politics, after a gap of 16 years. [Text] [Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 16 Sep 83 p 10]

INDIAN EMBASSY DENIAL--The Indian Embassy has refuted Press report, which alleged that there is large-scale dumping of Indian money and arms in Sind. An Embassy Press release issued in Karachi on Thursdaysaid: The Embassy of India categorically states that this report is completely untrue. The projection of this patently false report, and particularly the manner in which it has been highlighted in the Pakistan Press cannot but give rise to serious misunderstandings and misapprehensions with an adverse consequent effect on the process of normalisation and improvement of relations between India and Pakistan." [Text] [Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 16 Sep 83 p 10]

MUMTAZ MOVED TO HOSPITAL--Mr Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, a leader of the defunct Pakistan People's Party, was shifted from the Central Jail, Karachi, to the National Institute of Cardiovascular Diseases yesterday. He had earlier felt pain in his chest and a psecialist had examined him in the jail. Mr. Mumtaz, who had a coronary bypass operation in the United States recently, was arrested in connection with the current MRD campaign for restoration of democracy. He was first lodged in a rest-house near Karachi and later shifted to the Central Jail. [Text] [Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 16 Sep 83 p 10]

CSO: 4600/914

TERRORISTS ALLEGEDLY PLANNING A BLOODY REVOLUTION

Colombo DAILY MIRROR in English 7 Sep 83 p 1

[Text] PRESIDENT J. R. Jayewardene addressing the Government Parliamentary Group meeting today said that it had now been made apparent that terrorist elements in the North and South have joined hands. "Their intention was not only to divide the country but also to create disturbances and destroy the democratically elected Government and parties and stage a bloody revolution."

The President drew pointed attention to the interview given by a terrorist leader, Uma Maheswaran to an Indian newspaper wherein Maheswaran had stated that their struggle was not for separatism alone but also the liberation of the country and that they were gathering arms and ammunition and training youths abroad for the struggle." It appears from Maheswaran's interview too that they were against the TULF also.

It was therefore apparent that the intention of the elements who caused recent troubles was to create a situation for the revolutionary groups to destroy the country's independence and democracy."

Mr. Jayewardene said that there had also been reports that youths were being trained to stage an armed struggle and a person from Wales was training them in Tamil Nadu. The Government had written to India and the United Kingdom Government asking for information about these activities. The pattern emerging now is proving that there was an underhand design to create chaos.

He said that all parties should unite not necessarily politically but as patriots to preserve the country's independence and democratic way of life and from threats from these forces.

The President said that all indications go to point that the recent disturbances were not necessarily communal but that through communal violence an attempt had been made to create unrest to create a situation for an uprising.

Mr Jayewardene said that when they thought of the destruction of life and property that took place a few weeks ago they were reminded of the saying "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands moan"

Very rarely, he said has so much damage been done by so few people to so many. He said that properties of a large number of Tamils who supported even the UNP and against separatism were damaged.

While they should all be ashamed of what happened they should not condemn the whole nation for the evil deeds of a few, possibly maybe even less than fifty thousand in the whole country.

They could trace back the tension between some of the Sinhalese people and the Tamil people to the decision to create a separate state and the actions of the terrorists

One group of people wanted to split the country and form another nation. Since 1918 they had been one nation; under one Government, the British Government.

In our long history there had been at times one kingdom; at times a main kingdom and sub-kingdoms. The last King of a united Lanka under one King was under Parakrama Bahu VI of Jayawardana Pura (Kotte) (1411 for 50 years)

The British legacy of one kingdom was passed to the free Government of Sri Lanka; created on February 4; 1948. Since then; two parties; the United National Party and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party have been the major parties ruling this country; elected by the people for 15 years each out of 30

He said that they had allowed this activity for a separate state to grow too long. The Parliament had now made such a policy and programme illegal. There is no nation in the world that is supporting it. It is only in Tamil Nadu alone help is sought and given by propaganda arms and men.

The President appealed to people of all races who seek to preserve a United Nation to join hands together and work for the destruction of the two nations theory. He said he was discussing with political parties and others what should be done outside Parliament to further the same purpose.

The Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa said that underneath the communal tensions there is now evidence of a dangerous political undertone. It is an attempt to devour our country

"Uma Maheswaran's statement indicates that their intention was to create an uprising and eliminate a Sinhala dominated Government in Sri Lanka.

He said that the people should be vigilant and not fall prey to communal slogans and thus not create a situation for the revolutionaries to cause destruction

CSO: 4600/917

TULF LEADER INTERVIEWED ON ROOTS OF PRESENT CRISIS

Madras THE HINDU in English 25 Aug 83 pp 8, 10

[Interview with Appapillai Amirthalingam, Tamil United Liberation Front leader; date, place not given]

[Text] THE HINDU: By all accounts, the Tamils in Sri Lanka are facing the grimmest crisis they have faced in the island in modern times. What is your analysis of the overall situation? How does this differ from the earlier riots in which also the Tamils were the target?

Mr. Amirthalingam: I think there is one fundamental difference that the latest riots have been more systematically organised and the armed forces have played a decisive role in the attacks on Tamils and their property. That gives one the impression that it has been planned by somebody in authority who could have combined the action of the armed forces along with that of groups of civilians who were acting in a very organised way. I get the impression that this was a deliberately planned campaign to beat the Tamils down into total submission and drive them out of the Sinhala areas, destroy their economic base by destroying their industries and also cow down the Tamils in the Tamil majority areas. This was a three-pronged attack.

Q: Many, other than leaders of TULF, have pinpointed the army's active participation. This is a very significant new factor in the attack. Would you say that, or was this foreshadowed by earlier happenings?

Rampage

A: There were earlier incidents where some individual members of the armed forces had shot down, killed or gone on a rampage, but I think, here all the three sections of the armed forces, the army, the navy and the air force, played a part in the latest violence. And, this has happened in all parts of the country.

In Jaffna the army personnel shot and killed at least 51 civilians on July 24 and 25. It was a killing of the most brutal type because in certain places students were lined up and shot and killed. In certain places, they were just pumping bullets at passing vehicles crowded with people and people in those vehicles died. In certain places they shot and killed people in their

beds--a university lecturer by name Kalaparameswaran and his aged father-in-law were killed while they were sleeping in their house, and even women were shot and killed this way. That happened in Jaffna.

In Trincomalee, the navy personnel had gone on a planned rampage and within six hours, from 9-30 in the night to 3-30 in the early hours of the morning, 150 navy personnel destroyed every Tamil-owned business establishment in Trincomalee town.

Thugs in Forefront

In Colombo, in Badulla and other places wherever thugs had gone and tried to loot and were repulsed by people, the army intervened and shot and killed everybody who resisted the thugs. This happened in Badulla where in one place, in front of a business place called Yogam Stores, 14 people who resisted--one Sundaram and his four sons and others, people of Indian origin, who had done well in business--were shot and killed and tyres were piled on their bodies and they were all burnt beyond recognition by the army.

And, in Colombo also, they did the same thing in a place called Sea Street; where there was resistance to the thugs the army had gone to the scene and shot and killed the people. So one gets the impression that they were acting on definite instruction, putting the thugs in the forefront, if they failed or if they were repulsed, the army was to go on the scene and kill.

Q: One gets the impression that Trincomalee, if not the focus of attack, was one of the major focal points of attack. Why single out Trincomalee?

Attacks in Trincomalee

A: I think the attack on the Tamils in Trincomalee started long before the violence in the rest of the country broke out. It started shortly after the urban council elections there and continued unabated for nearly two months. Actually, the local elections took place on May 18 and the attacks started on June 3. It was started by the army and the police, and the hoodlums were drawn in whenever it was necessary.

And in certain instances, the navy personnel acted directly; in certain places they had gone for some sort of investigation, ahead of the thugs, and made sure that there was no likelihood of any resistance, arrested any young fellow who could offer resistance. Then immediately, hard on their heels, thugs followed and set fire to houses.

I think this is definitely connected to the attempt to hand over some interests in Trincomalee to the Americans. Mr. Cyril Mathew is the Minister in-charge of the petroleum corporation and he is the one who is interested in this matter. We have definite evidence that one of his Assistant Secretaries was present and had discussions with the army and police personnel at the height of the troubles in Trincomalee.

Religion as Cover

There was also an attempt to destroy Hindu temples in Trincomalee because Mr. Cyril Mathew has been trying to make Trincomalee a Sinhala area, using Buddhism as an instrument. Under the pretext that they have discovered Buddhist ruins in various places, using the funds of Government industrial corporations, they have put up Buddhist centres in various parts of Trincomalee district. So this is a multipronged attack using religion, armed forces and racist elements to dislodge Tamil elements and make it a predominantly Sinhala area so that there may be no resistance to their move to enable the Americans to get a foothold there.

Q: There is a version put out by Mr. Jayewardene to the effect that the riots were really related to a revolutionary conspiracy to destabilise the UNP Government and its experiment and to install a leftist regime, perhaps, a militarist solution. What kind of credibility would you give that?

More right-wing

A: I don't think that there could be any truth in this story. I think the forces that organised all this violence and carried it out were sources very close to the Government, and it was more right-wing than left-wing. I think the attempt to ban the Communist Party and the hint at certain dark forces being in the background are only an attempt to please the western countries and win their sympathy at a time when a great deal of public feeling has been created against the atrocities, particularly incidents like the killing of prisoners. So they wanted to make out that certain left forces were in the background.

But I will not discount the possibility of some contact between these forces of the UNP and certain sections of the JVP (Janata Vimukthi Peramuna) in this matter. But the other left wing parties could not have had any hand in it.

Q: There has been an attempt, initially, to depict Mr. Jayewardene as the "best bet" of the minority Tamils and those who wanted a negotiated settlement. You have already dealt with the points of difference, if any, between the UNP and the SLFP. Would you like to add anything on this particular point, how he could raise himself as somebody who had a soft corner for you?

Promise & performance

A: Mr. Jayewardene's record in the past was not that of a man who would do justice to the minorities. In 1957, when Bandaranaike entered into a pact with my late leader, Chelvanayagam, Mr. Jayewardene was the man who led the march to Kandy and created the feeling which ultimately resulted in the abrogation of the pact and also the subsequent riots against the Tamils in 1958.

But I should say that we all expected that in 1977 when he came to power with such a large majority and in an unassailable position, with the SLFP almost totally destroyed and in a shambles, we thought that Mr. Jayewardene will be able to work out a solution to the Tamils problem and it was in that belief that we started negotiations with him even after the riots of 1977.

But I should say one thing, on paper he conceded quite a lot of our rights, certain rights of the Tamil language were included in the 1978 Constitution; he gave a promise about granting citizenship rights to the plantation Tamils, the stateless persons; then, he introduced the District Development Councils.

Actually, in the implementation of all these things, one has to say that the record is very, very unsatisfactory. Not one syllable of the Tamil language rights embodied in the Constitution was implemented though five years had passed and no attempt was made to register as citizens the stateless persons. And, though the DDCs were introduced, nothing was done to make them function effectively.

Paper rights

That is why we came to the conclusion that apart from certain paper rights and paper safeguards, in fact there was no improvement; on the contrary there was a deterioration in the position of the Tamil people under his Government. Particularly in matters of employment, his record is worse than that of the governments of the past.

After 1977, in the public and semi-public sector, there has been a decrease in the number of Tamils employed. We have challenged the Government to show that anything more than five per cent of the posts have been given to Tamils whereas the Tamil population is over 20 per cent. So, his record leaves quite a lot to be desired in the matter of action.

And, with regard to colonisation which was one of the matters which the UNP itself accepted as a deep-seated grievance of the

Tamil people, though he propounded the principle that the ethnic ratio in any district, particularly in the northern and eastern provinces should not be altered by colonisation. In fact, under various industrial projects by employment being given to Sinhalese from outside the area, there has been a definite attempt to increase the Sinhala content of the population in Tamil districts like Trincomalee. So in none of the matters affecting us has he been helpful.

Tamils in army & police

In 1981, we made certain representations and he gave us a definite undertaking that in the police and the armed forces a larger percentage of Tamils will be given a place. Even the International Commission of Jurists in their report on the 1981 riots had indicated that one of the reasons why the police and the armed forces in the Tamil areas acted in this way was that they were predominantly Sinhala. In fact, the police are 95 per cent Sinhala and the armed forces are 99 per cent Sinhala. Mr. Jayewardene agreed that Tamils should be given representation in the police and the armed forces in proportion to their numbers in the population. But he did nothing about it for the last two years.

Q: Mr. Jayewardene has said that the police chief is a Tamil and the next Chief Secretary is going to be a Tamil and a number of Deputy Inspectors-General are Tamils.....

A: That is true. In fact, the first Inspector-General of Police was Mr. Ana Seneviratne, his relative. Then, when he wanted to make his nephew the army commander, Mr. Seneviratne was asked to retire because they could not possibly have both, one in charge of the police and the other in charge of the army. And the next man in the list according to seniority, Mr. Rudra Rajasingam, was made the IGP.

Ineffective

But the presence of a few Tamils in the higher ranks of the police is actually an accident of history; they were people recruited in the good old days and they have by efflux of time come to this position. But when these people retire which is due very soon, there will be hardly any Tamil to take their place.

Actually, some of the DIGs themselves were attacked during the recent riots. A DIG by the name of Mr. Vamadevan had his house razed to the ground in Colombo; he had to run away to save himself; he has now retired from service and gone away; this is the sort of thing that is happening. So, they are ineffective even if they are there because all the people lower down are Sinhalese and they never carry out the orders of the Tamil officers.

Q: Could you trace for us the origin and growth of the Eelam movement in a political sense? What were the efforts made

by the TULF, or the Tamils as a community before the TULF was formed (in 1976) to have your social, political and economic grievances redressed? And what was the response to these efforts from various governments?

Elimination of Tamil elements

A: The Sinhala leaders have tried to create an impression that the Tamils have never been cooperative, that they obstructed even the independence struggle. But it is a historical fact that the Ceylon National Congress itself was formed by a Tamil and the first President was Ponnambalam Arunachalam who was a Tamil and the Tamils were in the forefront of the freedom movement. But once independence was granted, the Sinhalese who got power into their hands on the basis that they were the majority, used that power to almost eliminate the Tamil elements altogether.

The first target was the weaker section of the Tamils, the plantation Tamils. They introduced citizenship laws which made the plantation Tamils stateless persons, deprived them of their franchise and deprived the Tamils of nearly half of the representation that they had in Parliament at the time of independence.

Then, they also started another attack by a systematic planned colonisation of the traditional Tamil areas, similar to what Israel is seeking to do in occupied Palestine, in such a way as to make the Tamils a minority in their own homelands. In times of crisis, in times of communal violence, the Tamils become the target of attack in their own traditional homelands and they have been chased out of some of those parts in the eastern provinces.

Sinhala-only Act

Then, the third thing that happened was, having weakened the Tamils position politically and having made Sinhala representation in Parliament predominant even beyond the numbers that their population warranted — the Sinhalese who at that time formed 65 per cent of the population got 85 per cent of the representation in Parliament after the Citizenship Act.

So using this majority, they passed the Sinhala-only Act, whereas before independence, in 1944, they had accepted the position that Sinhala and Tamil shall be the official languages of Ceylon. It was also calculated to drive Tamils out of the public services in which they said, they held a predominant position during British rule.

So we started an agitation in a non-violent way against this Sinhala-only Act and the deprivation of Tamils of their legitimate place. In response to our agitation, Prime Minister Bandaranaike entered into a pact with the late Chelvanayagam guaranteeing the use of Tamil as a language for correspondence with Government in all parts of the country, to make Tamil the

language of administration in the northern and eastern provinces, to establish regional councils and grant a fair measure of autonomy for the Tamils to look after their own affairs in their territory and to ensure that there was no planned colonisation of Tamil areas by Sinhalese.

But the moment Bandaranaike did this, Mr. Jayewardene led the march to Kandy and spearheaded the movement to get the pact abrogated. The Buddhist priests also joined in it and Bandaranaike ultimately succumbed to the pressure and abrogated the pact. In the wake of the abrogation, unprecedented communal violence was let loose on Tamils all over the country which resulted in thousands being dislodged from their homes, taken to refugee camps and by ships to places in the northern and eastern parts and settled there.

Incidentally, I may mention, an attempt is being made today to say that the violence now is because we are demanding Tamil Eelam, we are demanding a separate State, but in 1956, 1958 and even in 1961, we were subjected to violence when it was not even dreamt of by anybody that we should ask for a separate State. So this demand for a separate State cannot possibly be said to be the cause of the violence.

Then, again, after the 1960 March elections, when neither of the Sinhala parties had an absolute majority, they wanted our support. We said we will support any one of the parties which would grant us the same rights that were granted under the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam pact. The SLFP agreed to do that and we supported them. The UNP Government was defeated; in

three months we had another election, the SLFP came to power, but they did not honour the promise they gave us, went back on it.

Non-violent struggle

Actually they went a step further and introduced the law to make Sinhala the language of the courts as well and they tried to make Sinhala the language of administration even in predominantly Tamil areas like Jaffna, Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Mannar. So we had a non-violent struggle, we had a satyagraha campaign and for two months we paralysed the administration. They let loose the army, ill-treated the people and arrested all the leaders and locked them up.

In 1965, the UNP needed our support to form the Government. Dudley Senanayake and Mr. Jayewardene entered into a pact with Chelvanayagam, again undertaking to establish district councils as a measure of autonomy, to stop Sinhala colonisation of our areas and to grant the use of the Tamil language in those areas and certain rights all over the country. They introduced certain regulations to provide for the use of the Tamil language but to date, those regulations have remained a dead letter.

When the UNP tried to do something, the SLFP opposed it and when the SLFP tried to do something the UNP opposed it and all our efforts to come to terms with successive Sinhalese governments failed. Then, in 1970, Mrs. Bandaranaike came to power and set up a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution, a republican constitution.

We put forward certain demands, we did not ask for separation or any such thing. We asked for a federal form of government and presented a draft constitution. The Government did not even consider it; they just rejected it off hand. We asked that at least the Tamil language regulations which had been adopted by the UNP Government earlier be included in the constitution. The reply we got was there was a specific provision in the Constitution by which, they said, any regulation will not be regarded as part of the Constitution. They specifically saw to it that it was excluded from the ambit of the Constitution.

It was in this situation that all the Tamil parties got together--the Federal Party, the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress, the Ceylon Workers Congress of Mr. Thondaman and various other smaller Tamil groups--and formed the Tamil United Front.

Six-Point Programme

Even the Tamil United Front never asked for separation at that time; we merely put forward a six-point programme. We asked for justiciable fundamental rights, we asked for the rights of the Tamil language, we asked for decentralisation and autonomy and we asked that the State be made a secular State, not giving the foremost place to Buddhism.

The Government of Mrs. Bandaranaike did not even acknowledge receipt of our letter putting forward these demands. And in this situation, while we were agitating on the basis of these demands, in 1974, the police ran amuck at the World Ramil Research Conference without any provocation. At a meeting where 50,000 people assembled and a professor from Tiruchi was speaking on Tamil language, the Sinhala police came on the scene, used teargas and batons and even fired shots. Nine people were killed at that meeting.

Subject Race

It was after that the Tamil people came to the decision that they no longer could live with the Sinhalese and if they could not have even a cultural meeting without having to pay the price of nine people being killed, then they will have to assert their right to be free and independent which they felt they were historically entitled to demand.

Before the Portuguese conquered Sri Lanka, we had three kingdoms--a Tamil kingdom in the northern and eastern provinces and two Sinhala kingdoms. It was the British who unified the country for the first time. Though we made common cause with the Sinhalese we were reduced to the position of a completely subject race without our language, rights, rights of our religion, rights of employment and rights of even education.

Beginning of Youth Violence

That was another feature that came to the fore in 1971. They introduced standardisation in admission to universities, media-wise standardisation. Thereby they could reduce the percentage of Tamil students who got admission to medical, engineering and such science based courses from about 45-46 in 1970 to about 15-16 in 1974-75. This caused a tremendous amount of feeling among the Tamil youth. This, coupled with the police violence, was the beginning of youth violence among the Tamil students. Actually, the massacre in Jaffna was regarded as a challenge to the manhood of the Tamils by the youth and they started hunting the policemen who were responsible for it. They equated it with the Jallianwalabagh massacre in India which caused a great upsurge of feeling and gave rise to violent movements in Punjab like the one led by Bhagat Singh and youth movements of that type. Similarly a youth movement emerged in Sri Lanka; it started in Jaffna and spread to the other Tamil areas.

It was in this situation that in 1975, at the first convention of the Tamil United Front we decided that we will have as our objective the setting up of an independent Tamil State and we changed the name of the Tamil United Front to the Tamil United Liberation Front; this is how we came to this decision. And, then, in the 1977 election, we asked for a mandate from the Tamil people to work towards that objective and out of 19 Tamil electorates in the northern and eastern provinces, the Tamil people returned us in 18 electorates with a preponderant majority and we got a mandate to work towards that objectives.

FURTHER POLARIZATION FEARED IF COUNTRY IS DIVIDED

Colombo DAILY MIRROR in English 29 Aug 83 p 1

[Article by M. Z. Thahir]

[Text] Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa said that Sri Lanka was a small country in a big world and when people started fighting and killing each other in this country there were foreign countries wanting to capitalise on the situation and threaten our very existence.

He was addressing a massive gathering here after he declared open the 50-house 'Abhigamanagama' model village here the first one after Gam Udawa '83.

Referring to last month's violence the Prime Minister said that these acts were perpetrated by political parties which wanted to destroy the country and the nation because they were jealous of what this government was achieving.

Thanking the people of the south for not falling prey to the machinations of these forces which were doing everything to sabotage the government's program of national development, Mr. Premadasa said that there could never be a division of the country.

If division was permitted it can ultimately lead to other divisions and even the segregation of the sexes because there will be no end to division. Division can ultimately be a division on the basis of religious, race caste and a number of other divisions. All people living in this country were citizens of Sri Lanka and also the citizens of the world.

Mr. Premadasa said that in birth there were no caste race or creed. The difference was really the good and the bad actions of human beings. If a person was good then he was a "high and mighty" person and the opposite was when a person did bad things.

What was really necessary was the development of the human mind. All the major religions of the world were doing the same thing--development of the human mind to acts of justice, kindness, compassion. If this was done then human beings will not act savagely as the incidents of last month.

He said that last months' incidents was clearly not the work of Sinhalese Buddhists because Sinhalese Buddhists can never do such acts. It was also incorrect to blame the Sinhalese people for last month's ugly incidents because many Sinhalese people pirotected their Tamil bretheren even at the risk of their own lives and property. The acts were the madness of a group of politicians and disruptive persons who wanted to create chaos and mayhem in the country. Every single person must be careful not to fall prey to these evil schemes, the Prime Minister warned.

Among the others who spoke [was] Plantation Industries and Public Administration Minister, Major Montague Jayawickreme and the District Minister for Matara and Hambantota, Mr. Kirthi Abeywickreme.

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GOVERNMENT ADVOCATES COMPULSORY CONSCRIPTION FOR YOUTH

Colombo DAILY MIRROR in English 1 Sep 83 p 1

[Article by Hana Ibrahim and Lloyd R. Devarajah]

[Text] THE Government has decided on the compulsory conscription of all able-bodied male youths above the age of 18 years, to assist the Security forces and the Police in patrolling and safeguarding the properties and lives of people living in their own areas, said Mr. Ranil Wickramasinghe, Minister of Education, Youth Affairs and Employment and Cabinet spokesman addressing media personnel at the office of the Information Department in Colombo yesterday.

Mr. Wickramasinghe said that the details of this scheme was now being worked out by the Ministry of Defence and will be made public shortly.

The Cabinet agreed in principle to this mobilisation scheme which would supplement the Home Guards Scheme now in force, and thereby relieve some of the functions now being performed by the Police and the Armed Forces.

The Cabinet has decided to recommend that former Minister of Agriculture Mr. E. L. Senenayake be the new Speaker of the Parliament following the resignation of Mr. Bakeer Markar, who is expected to be appointed a Minister without portfolio.

Mr. Douglas Liyanage Competent Authority and Secretary to the Ministry of State said that the security situation was now virtually normal and the rumpus over the weekend at Batticaloa was "tailing off". Three vacant houses were gutted and were confined to the Valaichchenai-Kalkudah belt in the East coast.

Jaffna was very much normal except for a car being reported stolen and two buses being partially burnt on Tuesday. Mr. Liyanage said that a boutique in Ehiwela was set on fire and it was a dispute between two Sinhalese persons--a landlord and the tenant.

He asked Newspapers to be restrained in the spotlighting of incidents announced by the Competent Authority as one newspaper had banner headlines of the incidents at Batticaloa on Tuesday.

PRIVATE SECTOR WARNED AGAINST STAFF REDUCTIONS

Colombo DAILY MIRROR in English 12 Sep 83 p 1

[Article by Hana Ibrahim]

[Text] THE Department of Labour has issued a severe warning to all private sector organisations not to use the July ethnic disturbances as a cover to cut down on staff.

Firms found guilty of this offence will be dealt severely by the Labour Department using all the penalties in the country's labour laws.

According to reliable reports a large number of Private companies have given quit notices to many of their staff members, following the July incident.

prominent Multinational Company has served quit notices to a large number of affected persons returning to work after the disturbances. Apparently the reason given is 'Security purposes'.

Even certain foreign firms working on various local projects too have cut down on their field staff. "Daily Mirror" reliably learns that most of these field officers were from the affected community. Here too, the reason given was 'personal safety and security'.

Recently the "Daily Mirror" reported that leading garment manufacturing industries were handing out quit notices to new recruits and trainees. This action too follows the recent ethnic disturbances. While private companies and foreign firms use the disturbance to cut down on their staff Garment industries use this opportunity stock themselves only with fully trained staff. Whatever the reasons are, the Labour Department said it will deal severely if complaints of retrenchment using the July problems are received from anybody.

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END